

EMANCIPATION
PROCLAMATIONS
MISCELLANEOUS

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Emancipation Proclamation

Miscellaneous

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

Aug 31, 1861

IMPORTANT---IF TRUE.

**Proclamation of Emancipation
in Missouri.**

New York, 31st. The Tribune says it has trustworthy information that Gen. Fremont will issue a proclamation this morning, declaring Missouri under martial law, and offering freedom to the slave population.

Cincinnati 31st. It is understood here that General Fremont has issued a proclamation, putting the recent confiscation act of Congress into effect.

EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The Bill Signed and Commissioners Named

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate

and House of Representatives:

The act entitled "An act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," has this day been approved and signed.

I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District, and I have ever desired to see the National Capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject, except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act.

In the matter of compensation, it is provided that claims may be presented within ninety days from the passage of the act, but not thereafter; and there is saving* for minors, *femmes covert*, insane, or absent persons. I presume there is an omission by mere oversight, and I recommend that it be supplied by an amendatory or supplemental act.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Washington, April 16, 1862.

*[So telegraphed; but the word "no" is undoubtedly omitted.—Ed.]

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 16, 1862.

The President to-day nominated to the Senate James G. Berret, ex-Mayor of Washington, the Hon. James F. Vinton of Ohio, and Daniel R. Goodloe, formerly of North Carolina, Commissioners under the act for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, whose duty is to investigate and determine the validity and value of the claims presented.

411 7
411 62

Rebel Treason
July 1862

CONFISCATION AND EMANCIPATION. The bill, which has just passed Congress and been approved by the President, respecting the "real and personal property" of rebels, is of such great importance, that we publish the act in full in another column. The message of the President, explaining some of the provisions of this important measure, will be found on the first page. The Executive document and the law itself are significant productions, marking an epoch in the history of the present war, and showing that hereafter the contest is to be conducted, measurably, upon the idea that rebels have no rights, (of property at least,) which loyal men are bound to respect.

THE FIRST ACT OF EMANCIPATION. Yesterday a negro woman claimed the protection of the court, on the ground that her mistress, Mrs. Nicholas, had said to her several times to go to the Yankees. This offended the woman, and she appealed to Judge Bell for protection. He had her sworn, by raising up her right hand, that what she said was true. Thereupon he ordered the clerk to make out her emancipation papers in accordance with Gen. Butler's order. [N. O. True
Delta, July 25th.

By J. A. Smith Aug 4, 1862

3. MATTERS AT WASHINGTON. The correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune says:

"Dr. O. A. Brownson, the eminent Catholic, and editor of Brownson's Review, had an interesting conference with the President on Saturday. The questions of Emancipation and Colonization were discussed at length. Dr. Brownson agreed with the President on the subject of Colonization, but urged Emancipation as a means of saving the country, and as a step which must be taken before Colonization on a large scale could become practicable.

The talk of the President was in a hopeful strain. He said that he was not fully persuaded that it was yet time to proclaim Emancipation, but Dr. Brownson infers from the tenor of his remarks that if the next battle in Virginia results in a decided victory for our arms, a proclamation emancipating the slaves of rebels in North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, will be forthwith issued.

As he was leaving the room Dr. Brownson asked the President if he could give him any definite expression of opinion in regard to the time when Emancipation would be proclaimed, upon which the President took up a newspaper and read from it his letter to Mr. Greeley."

AMEN TO THE PROCLAMATION.

Wendell Phillips' Oration at the Cooper Institute.

The Liberation and Arming of the Slave the Salvation of the Republic.

THE NEW JOHN BROWN SONG.

Cooper Institute was crowded to excess last evening, on the occasion of the delivery of Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS' "Amen to the Proclamation." Every seat in the house was filled long before the hour for the commencement of the oration. The platform was occupied by a number of distinguished gentlemen in the Anti-Slavery cause, and a somewhat unusual number of ladies. Indeed, the pitiless storm did not prevent an attendance of the gentler sex, comprising at least half the audience. The brass buttons of M. P.'s were visible all over the house, and reserved platoons were in readiness in adjoining rooms, prepared for any exigency. At precisely 8 o'clock, Mr. PHILLIPS entered, preceded by OLIVER JOHNSON and THEODORE TILTON. Mr. TILTON opened the proceedings by nominating for Chairman EDGAR KERRAN, Esq., who was unanimously chosen.

Mr. KERRAN, on taking the Chair, said that on next Tuesday evening, Feb. 3, Mr. PHILLIPS would address the people of Brooklyn at Plymouth Church on the state of the country. He further requested that the audience should remain after the close of Mr. PHILLIPS' address, to hear the singing of the new John Brown song. [Applause.] He then presented Mr. PHILLIPS, who was most flatteringly received, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I am to speak to you to-night on the President's Proclamation of the 1st of January last—the proclamation of freedom to every slave in the rebellious States of the Union. I think that the first thought that occurs to us, or that must have occurred to every one on the promulgation of that paper, was the immense progress which the nation had made within the last twenty-three months. You remember that twenty-three months ago, on the 11th day of February, 1861, the Congress of the United States almost unanimously resolved that Slavery had nothing to do with this war, and that no man in the Free States and no power in the Government had either the wish or the right to interfere with it; that those individuals who cherished such an idea were so few in numbers, and so insignificant in position, that it was not worth while to attempt to appreciate their influence on the public. On the very day that Congress thus announced to the world that there was something more sacred than Union in this struggle and that was the system of negro bondage—that very day ABRAHAM LINCOLN left his house at Springfield on his road to the Capital. The first that was heard from the expectant President was his pledge at Cleveland to execute to the utmost the Fugitive Slave law of the Republic. He reached Washington, hunted and disguised. The first word that was heard from his military subordinates was the pledge to put down every slave insurrection with iron hand. The nation launched on the great civil war of the century with a pledge from every Department that it would not take one step toward justice. And a few months later, on his beleaguered outposts in Missouri, Fremont (great applause) uttered the statesman word that was both fit and able to cure the ill of the Republic. Instantly a timid Cabinet hastened to cashier him. Months of conciliation, indecision, compromise followed, and we groped our way—the great mass of the people—towards, and still groping onward, till the 22d day of September, 1862, when all the President undertook was the status of Congress that said in the individual rebel, we will weaken you by taking away your slaves; we will punish you by confiscation of your property; and then, turning to the expectant millions that watched his lips, the only intimation he could make to them was, "Negroes, if I consent to emancipate you, will you instantly leave the country?" The first day of January dawned and a new voice rose to us from the White House at Washington. It is no threat to the individual slaveholder—"I will cripple your right hand." It is no penal enactment to a rebellious citizen—"You will be punished by law for your treason." It is the nation, in the name of absolute justice, linking its cause to the throne of the Almighty. [Applause.] It is the President of the United States commanding the freedom of the slaves of rebels, and emancipation to every slave, whether his master be loyal or a

traitor, in the rebellious sections of the Union. [Applause.] In other words, it is the recognition of the pledge or the analysis summation of the pledge which ABRAHAM LINCOLN himself made in June, 1858, when he said the agitation which pervades the Republic can cease only in two ways—one is, the disruption of the Union, and the other is, that the country, now half slave and half free, shall become either wholly slave or wholly free. On the 1st day of January, of the present year, he announced in the name of the nation that nationality is henceforth liberty, and that the nation is henceforth to be wholly free. [Applause.] It is not a step onward—it is turning a corner, and launching into a new channel. It is not the punishment of treason; it is the inauguration of justice. [Applause.] He loads his cannon with broken letters and fires them from the bastion of absolute justice. [Applause.] And instead of saying to the expectant citizen clothed in a black skin—"May I colonize you under the jungles of South America?" he addresses him like the President of the Declaration of Independence—"May I colonize you into the forts and ships of the Union, and put a musket into your right hand?" [Applause.] The nation, in other words, launches on a new channel. She undertakes to say that the system of Slavery is incompatible with the perpetuity of the Republic. The nation announces that freedom—records it on her statute book, and henceforth the motto of the American citizen is liberty to the slave, or death to the Union—in a deeper meaning than Webster announced it. The motto of thirty millions over whom ABRAHAM LINCOLN is right President is Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable. [Applause.] Well, who would not say Amen to such a step of the Union—who would stop at the first blush to measure its absolute extent or count any seeming deficiencies in the measure? It is enough for us that at last the nation announces its purpose to use the full measure of its power. The French Minister said at the commencement of the struggle: "I know the North has power amply sufficient to crush this rebellion and I know as well that she has never the will to use it." On the 1st of January, America announced her determination to use the power which the nation against Fort Sumter gave her, and that is the significance of the proclamation. Now, I know some men criticize its extent, and there are some that find fault with the exceptions made by the President. No doubt there can be sound fault correctly found with the exceptions to that great instrument; but the merit of it is, that it bears in its bosom the seeds of a complete emancipation for every slave under the Stars and Stripes. [Applause.] God has launched this nation on the voyage whose only port is Liberty, and whether the President repents or the cabin boys conspire, it matters not. Absolute justice holds the helm, and we shall never go into the harbor until every man under the flag is free. [Applause.] Why do I say this? I will tell you. I just used the word North, and we are accustomed to use the words North and South familiarly in the present straits. They once meant the land toward the north pole, and the land toward the sun. They have a deeper significance at present. By the North, I mean the civilization of the Nineteenth century. I mean that equal and recognized manhood up to which the race has struggled by the toil and labor of nineteen centuries. I mean free speech, free types, open Bibles, the welcome rule of the majority. I mean the Declaration of Independence. [Applause.] But by the South, on the contrary, I mean in likewise a principle, not of a locality—an element of civil life, not of fourteen rebellious States. That element is present in this City; it is working at Albany; it triumphed at Harrisburg as certainly as it triumphed at Richmond and Montgomery. [Applause.] Wherever you find it you will find men, and you will find them in this very crowd, who think that he who steals his brother and uses him is a gentleman, and he who makes his living by the sweat of his brow is not. [Applause.] Now by the South I mean just that element—an element which, like the days of Queen Mary and the Inquisition, cannot tolerate free speech, but buries it with the stake. I mean an aristocracy of the skin, that considers the Declaration of Independence a sham and democracy a snare—that thinks and promulgates a creed that one-third of the race are born booted and spurred, and the other two-thirds are ready saddled for that third to ride. I mean a civilization which prohibits the reading of the Bible by statute, and which puts a nation into a felon's cell for teaching a black sister to read. These are the two elements at war to-day—of nineteen hundred and fourteen rebellious States—and it is no new thing that they are fighting. They could not exist side by side without fighting, and they never have. In 1787, when the Constitution was formed, James Madison and Rufus King followed by the aristocrats in the Convention, announced that the great limitation between States was not between rebel States and loyal, but between free and slave States. Ever since the conflict had begun. In 1833, Mr. Adams said on the floor of Congress, when he gave and the States can come into one Government is a matter of philosophical speculation. We are a union of the spirit. In June, 1858, Mr. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, used the language which I have quoted thus the country

a half free and half slave, and it must either break or become wholly slave or wholly free. In October of the same year, Mr. SAWYER said, in his great irrepressible conflict speech at Rochester. The most frequent remark of Napoleon was that Europe is half Cossack and half Republican. The systems are not only in congruous—they are incompatible. They never can exist under one Government, and they never will. Our fathers, he goes on to say, recognized this truth. They saw the conflict developing when they made the Constitution, and that tender conscience and tender-hearted men have lamented this strife between Slavery and Anti-Slavery, says Mr. SAWYER, by which he means, when you call him fanatic, the strife that tender-hearted men lamented, our fathers not only foresaw, but they initiated. What did they initiate, does Mr. SAWYER mean? It means that they knew these two systems would fight. But they thought in the Parhamment Con-

stitution they could fight it out by type; that they could discuss it; that ballots and parties, debates and the free speech, would among sister States settle the conflict between two irreconcilable civilizations. What does history teach us of this struggle? Of two civilizations constantly at war with each other—the ways at odds except when one of the others is the ruler. So long as the South ruled, up to 1861, we had comparative peace. The Missouri Compromise was the first rising protest of Northern civilization against the Constitution. It was an unsuccessful protest. The South put it under her heel, but she did not kill it. It continued alive through the storm, and showed its head again above water in the compromise year of 1850, and again it was strangled under the heel of the aristocracy of fourteen States; but it outlived again by the irresistible power of God's own laws, and in 1861 it wrote the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN on the walls of the Republic—not victory but the herald of victory. [Applause.] It was 1,700,000 ballots, recording the strength of the rising North against the authority of the preponderating South, and the statesmanship of the South. She said to herself: I can keep the North on four, eight or twelve years upon the usual measures of conciliation and compromise. I can buy this man and bribe that one, but that is a contingent existence. There is another way open to me. I agree at the outset to abide the issue of free speech, and free discussion, and free labor. I put my system as the lawyers of Kentucky, in a hotch-pot with Massachusetts free speech, and the free labor of the prairies: I am beaten—shall I acknowledge it? No! I will kick at all these truths and ap-
peal from the nineteenth century of cannon, meant to the sixteenth century of cannon. The Minié rifle is left to me when types fail—the old strife—a new method nothing more;—the old conflict with a new weapon. And she thought because once, twice and thrice, that this time, North had gotten down on her knees, that this time, through the profits of cotton dust, she would kiss her feet as usual. [Applause.] But instead of that, for the first time in history, the Puritan lifted up his gauntlet, flinging it back into the Gulf, and said, by the Almighty the Mississippi is mine, and I will have it. Out of this conflict when shall come peace? Just as it came in the conflict of parties and discussions. Whenever one civilization gets up-
permost decisively, then there shall be peace, and never until then. There is no new thing under the sun. The light shed upon our future is the lamp of experience. Seventy years have not left us ignorant of what the aristocracy of the South means and plans. If it has left the Secretary of State ignorant, it has left the Secretary of State ignorant. [Laughter and applause.] She is a wise power, or she goes by the board. She knows that she needs to rule. What does Mr. JEFF. DAVIS plan? Do you suppose that he plans for an imaginary line to divide South Carolina from New-York and Massachusetts? What good would that be? An imaginary line will not shut out ideas. It is not CHARLES SUMNER in the Senate, nor HENRY WILSON in the Senate, it is the ideas of New-England that make the institutions of South Carolina perilous, and, therefore, he says, I will ally myself with a weaker race than this Saxon one of the North; I will join in marriage the weaker race of Spain and Mexico to the Southwest; then, perhaps, I can secure to myself the Northwest, with its agricultural interest, and if I can get a slaveholding empire, I will leave New England and New-York out in the cold, and have comparative peace. But if he were to leave New-England out in the cold what then? She is still there and give us only the fulcrum of Plymouth Rock and she will upheave the continent. [Applause.] Now, JEFF. DAVIS knows better—a great deal better. His plan is to mold an empire so strong, so broad, that it can control New-England and New-York. He is not only to found a slaveholding despotism, but he is to make it so strong that, by traitors among us and among us in by power round, as to cripple, confine and break down the free discussion of these Northern States. Unless he does that he is not safe, and he must know it. I don't think he will succeed. He must mold Massachusetts, not into being a slaveholding commonwealth, but into being a silent commonwealth, in order that Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas and Arkansas may have quiet, peaceable populations. He is a wise man. He knows what he wants and he wants it with a will like JULIUS CÆSAR of old, and he has gathered every dollar and ever himself South of Mason and Dixon's line to hurl a thunderbolt that will achieve his purpose, and if he does achieve a separate Confederacy, and shall be able to bribe a West even into neutrality, much less alliance, a dangerous time and a long struggle and a terrible struggle will these Eastern States have, for they will never make peace. The Yankee that came out of Caom-well's bosom will fight his Naseby, if it lasts a hundred years. In other words, JEFF. DAVIS will try to rule; if he conquers—to carry Carolina to Massachusetts. But if he conquers, what is our policy? Carry Massachusetts to Carolina. [Applause.] In other words, carry Northern civilization all over the South. It is a contest between civilizations. Whichever conquers, predominates over the other, and it seems to me this simple statement includes the whole duty and policy of the hour.

It is a struggle that will never have an end until one or the other element subdues its rival. Therefore, we should be, like the South, penetrated with the idea and ready with unanimity and courage to sacrifice everything to that idea. Why, no man can fight Stonewall Jackson—an honest fanatic on the side of Slavery—but JOHN BROWN, an equally honest fanatic on the other. They are only chemical equals, and will neutralize each other. [Laughter and applause.] You cannot neutralize electricity with cologne water. You cannot hurt Wm. H. SAWYER at JEFF. DAVIS. [Laughter and applause.] You cannot have a man of ideas on both sides, otherwise the elements of the struggle are not equal. [Laughter.] In what I say to you, therefore, I mean to say the subject of the North is to subdue the South—meaning by North and South what I have just described. Of the two civilizations our object is to subdue the South. What

right have we to subdue the South? What right has one of the civilizations to crush the other? It has this right. We are a nation, not a partnership. Married, we put our interests together in 1787. We joined our honor and our wealth. This question is not to be looked at as a technical lawyer would look at it, dotting his i's, crossing his p's, and making his s's all-cases into colons. It is to be looked at in the broad light of national honor and statesmanship. Our fathers, if they were honorable men, as we believe, accepted slavery as a part of our civil constitution, on the ground that it was put into common lot with freedom. It was an honest bargain. They consented to be disgraced by the toleration. They consented to let the fresh blood of the young, vigorous free labor of many States build it up, on the pledge that in the end it should take its chances with all the other great national interests. It was with this fundamental understanding that the United States commenced, and the great spiritual interests of the country are based upon it. For instance, the Illinois farmer, when he bought a thousand acres of South Carolina and New-York, did not buy a thousand acres isolated in the Northwest. He bought a thousand acres with New-Orleans for his port of entry and New-York as his counting-house. That was as much a part of the deed as if it were written. If South Carolina can show that Illinois and New-York have broken the deed, she has the right to reject it, but until she can show that they have broken the deed she is a swindler when she shuts off New-Orleans from Illinois, for Illinois needs New-Orleans as much as Chicago.

The negro has waited three generations for his freedom, and Sam Adams, who thought slavery a crime, and your Gov. Monroes, who thought it a disgrace and a sin, said to the slave—wait, the time will come when either the waves of a constant civilization or the armed right hand will strike off your fetters—and the slave sat down and waited. In 1816, when the time had come, as JOHN HANCOCK said, that the master was beginning to turn from his slave instead of the slave from his master, the slave rose and asked the children of HANCOCK and ADAMS to fulfill the promise they had made; but they said—Not yet, wait; we dare not—and he sat down in the darkness of despair, in the huts of the Carolinas, and waited. God alone counted the moments of his agony. At last the gun sounded against Sumter, and he sprang to his feet and said: New-York, Massachusetts, fulfill the pledge of your fathers in the name of God and justice. [Applause.] We are a nation by all these considerations. Well, now, if we are a nation, we have a right as a unit to let the elements of the nation contend, and whichever is the strongest will give color to the nation. If slavery is the strongest, we shall be a slave-holding people; but if freedom is strongest, we shall be a free people. If we are a nation, Mr. LINCOLN has a right to use every dollar and every man to defend that nationality—every dollar and every man. Ah, but the Democracy say a slave is not a man. Suppose Gen. Lee had built his house on the dividing line between Maryland and Virginia, and the Maryland Sheriff should come, he might go into the Virginia parlor, and when the Virginia Sheriff should come, go into the Maryland parlor. Just so, the Democrat says. Here, at the North, the slave is neither a man nor a thing, but something between the two. Well, now, we have got a sheriff in the Maryland parlor, and a sheriff in the Virginia parlor. If he is a man, the nation in its utmost peril has a right to drill him and enlist him; it has a right to every right man. [Applause.] And if he is a horse, the nation has a right to use him. Well, now, do you say, we are not a nation. If we are not, stop the war. If we are not a nation, we have attempted to show, why, then, stop the war; for every cannon pointed at South Carolina is an outrage on State rights. If we are a confederacy, the State has a right to secede. We are either a nation or a confederacy. If we are a confederacy, stop the war; if we are a nation, carry it out. [Cheers.] A man created by God, according to law has the right, driven to the wall, to use every power within his

reach to protect his life. That is self-defence. A nation is an individual, created by international law. A nation, driven to the wall, has the right to use everything within its reach to defend itself in that being. [Applause.] Now, if we are a nation, go on; and if we are not, stop the war and begin a nation. I do not care whether it is Manhattan Island or Plymouth Rock; however small it be, begin it, and the vigor of a nationality in a generation will cover the continent. A confederacy is a nuisance. But men say, "This is a mean thing; nineteen millions of people up against eight millions of Southerners, white men, and can't whip them; how mean to call on the negro!" Is that the right statement? Look at it. What is the South's strength? She has eight millions of whites; she has the sympathy of foreign Powers, she has the labor of four millions of slaves. What has the North got? Divided about equal, and that is a very fair statement for your side, about equally into Republican and Democrat—the Republican not willing to go halfway, and the Democrat not willing to go at all. [Laughter and cheers.] I will tell you what she is. It is two men fighting. We will call them Jonathan and Charles. Jonathan is the North—his right hand the Democratic Party holds behind him; his left hand his own tenderness of conscience uses to keep the slaves down. That is how he has to fight—no, that is not how he fights. On his shoulder is strapped West Point, like a stone of a hundred pounds. [Great laughter and applause.] The South stands with both hands holding a loaded revolver, and feel she should lose any time John Bull is behind her with additional pistols to load the moment she needs them. [Laughter.] Those are the two elements that are fighting this battle—that is the state of public opinion on either side. Now, the question is, whether in this great conflict—not a boy's play between A and B—but the great struggle for the control of this Continent in behalf of free labor—

whether it is the duty of wise as to use every means within their reach. This is a contest between slaveholders and free labor—nothing more—that is the element of it, and in that contest the people, like every contest against aristocracy, are bound in their own right, in the right of their child, in the right of the great interests of the world that hang upon their success, to beat themselves to understand and to use the moment and every weapon within their reach. I contend, therefore, that is both constitutional and rightful, and more than that, absolutely necessary that this Government should, in the hour of its peril, call on the four millions of blacks to aid it in a struggle which means liberty to them. [Cheers.] I am not speaking now as an Abolitionist. I hold the hour an immensely serious one. Deeply in debt, with a terrible loss of blood, having fixed a foul shame on the cause of democracy by our indecision and delay, with a future before us complexed by every variety of danger, the question is how we shall pilot the Ship of State, the hope of the world, through this storm. The silver lining to the dark cloud that overhangs us is the ineradicable loyalty of four millions of bondsmen who hold the scale in their hands. Now, how are they to be used? The President has announced it as a National policy that they shall be used. I said this Proclamation had some shortcomings, but it bore within itself the seeds of ultimate perfection, for this reason, it affects the Gulf States immediately; but in the future it is like taking the bottom out of the tub, and the whole contents fall. What carried Virginia into the Confederacy? The slave system has killed her soil; it has bankrupted her families; it has carried ruin into every old system. What carried her into a slaveholding Confederacy? What is a Virginian? Nothing but a peddler of babies through the Southwest—despised there, if not here. Now, when the market seceded, of course, he went with it. [Laughter.] The natural interests of the State carried him there. When this proclamation abolishes the market, it takes up the cement that binds Virginia to the Confederacy, and in a very short time the returning sense, and the unextinguishable interests of the State, will bring her back North. I allow, it was a great mistake in Mr. LINCOLN to except Tennessee—the very thick of the conflict. To have had one hundred thousand loyal hearts and right hands thrown into our scale would have been momentous. Besides, what effect has it on the negro of the Gulf States, when he sees the negro of the Border States still kept in slavery, and he doubts us. John at Corinth looks at Sam at Nashville, and the only way he has of judging of the Stars and Stripes, is to see whether the man nearest to it is a freeman, and while the men that surround it are in chains, it is hard for the news of freedom to permeate the Border States and reach the Slave States of the Gulf in such an unequivocal shape as to stir the thoughtful slave to action. The fact is, that in this contest he has shown himself a keen Yankee. Men say, why don't he move? Because we don't give him cause to move. A near friend of mine, a Virginian converted to Abolition went home, and the Virginian told him that ever since his oracle he had an inextinguishable desire for freedom. The reply of the white boy was: "Why didn't you tell me?" He said, "You never gave us any intimation that you had any sympathy for us." It was a wise reply. The slave of the Gulf States, how does he stand? Twenty thousand slaves at least, since this war began, have either been shut out of our ranks, or when they got into them they have been returned; twenty thousand unanswered arguments that the Yankee flag does not mean liberty, how much should the neighbors of these twenty thousand trust us? What does the slave want? He wants—like every poor ignorant population that can't read—he wants a fact to judge by, not a word. He cannot live on priors ink; he wants a fact, and that is what we have to give him. We are to proclaim that Proclamation or it will amount to nothing. We have got forty-five days until the 4th of March to work in, and on that 4th of March Congress changes its category; that is, it becomes largely Democratic. If the Administration does nothing with a Republican bayonet behind it, how much will it do with a Democratic drag under its feet? We have got forty-five days to work in. I am no politician, I do not care any more for a Democrat than a Republican; the only man I have any sympathy with is the man that thinks that in this crushing and jostling of the two frigates of Freedom and Slavery against each other God is in the frigate of Freedom, and demands every honest man to hold up his hand on his side. Now if we slide over to the Summer, if the Ship of State goes dead set against the Gibraltar of the Supreme Court and finds Texas at 99 telling the President that he can't make a Proclamation, I believe yet in the inextinguishable vigor of God's laws of the universe, and this country will be free, and there will be one flag from the Lakes down to the Gulf. [Cheers.] But while it will be a continuation of the war, the search of an honest man will be to an end to it. There are those standing to-day among us who would stretch their hands over two hundred thousand bloody graves, and clasp hands with the rebels. That element is to be put under our feet, with the declaration that the helm is ours by party right, by national right, by the right of absolute justice, and while God gives us the power we will use it boldly in the service of freedom and the Union. [Applause.] I say we have got forty-five days. In that time the whole social system of the Gulf States is to be taken to pieces, every bit in it—an easy task. Gen. BURNETT says that Louisiana has gone to pieces. [Cheers for BURNETT.] Well, he deserves a better cheer than that. [Great cheering for BURNETT.] For this reason (continued the speaker) he is almost the only General in our service who acts upon the principle that we are all right and the traitors are all wrong. [Laughter and cheers.] Ninety-nine of our other Generals act on the principle that the rebels are half right and we are half wrong. When BURNETT was at New-Orleans last Summer, he assembled fifty slaveholders in the parlors of the St. Charles Hotel, and addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, you indulge the idea that there is a Democratic Party at the North

that will make a bridge back to us at Washington. I am a Democrat, and I shall always be a Democrat, and I tell you I will burn every house in the State of Louisiana, and I will put every negro's right hand on every white man's throat, before I take down that banner and go home. [Loud cheers.] Why is Gen. BURNETT here? Who can tell? ABRAHAM LINCOLN cannot. He says he knows nothing about it. Gen. HALLOCK says he knows nothing about it. WILLIAM H. SEWARD says he knows nothing about it. The best General in the service, the man that held the third city of the empire in his right hand like a lamb, that man goes home to the Capital, and cannot find a man in the Cabinet who will take the responsibility of saying that he advised his recall, or tell him the reason why he was recalled. [Cries of "Shame," and renewed cheers for BURNETT.] Well, now, I said it is necessary to take the system of the Gulf States to pieces; in other words, it is necessary to move that great mass of loyalty into our scale. How is it to be done? Did you ever have anything to do with an adult that could not read? Did you ever know what defence God has given him against imposition? It is distrust, suspicion. He takes three or four methods of seeing whether the man that can "ad lib" is cheating him. For instance, when I was a lawyer, (Heaven forgive me,) (laughter,) I had an Irish client who could not read. I was a Whig, and he would bring me the vote to read it to him, and then he would take it to my neighbor, who was a Democrat, and when we both read it alike, he trusted us. The slave cannot read; he naturally has this wholesome distrust. He does not want papers, he wants acts to judge by. Well, now, when MIRZUL (God bless him!) was in the South, at Corinth, he had 400 black men in his service, who worked for him day and night, telling him every secret of the country, and he said, "By the Stars and Stripes, you shall be as free as I am." When BURNETT succeeded him he sent every one of them back. "Shame," and hisses for BURNETT. That account was from MIRZUL's own lips. Every one of these men carried distrust of the banner we love into every town that he carried his chains. How shall it be counteracted? The slave wants a fact—he wants a symbol. If you ever had anything to do in studying the history of slave classics, you will know this value of symbols. When England freed the slaves in the West Indies, the slave took his wife out of the sugar fields. When it was asked, are they not as able to work as you? "Yes," he replied, "but the wives of white men don't work," and when our Boston Committee sent down a thousand pairs of gray socks to the slaves, they would not wear them, because white men wear black shoes, and it was not until the Committee set their dippers in lambchop that they bought them. I saw a dozen of contrabands who came North by the *Railroad* from the Gulf. I said to them, "You would like to work here." "No." "What would you like to go home, back to slavery?" "No." "You want to live to your masters?" "No." "What do you want?" "A piece of land." A piece of land was the pedestal which, in his sight, and always on his up a freeman. He wanted that pedestal, he wanted the symbol that he was free. Men say the negro is lazy

when he is free. Why should he not be? He never saw a freeman that was not lazy. (Laughter.) He wants the symbol of freedom. Now, how can we give it to him? The quickest way we can give it to him is to put his own color into United States uniform and a Minie rifle in the right hand. Send a dash and blood proclamation of the name of JOHN GARD, FREEMAN to Charleston. [Applause.] I love HARRIS, I respect BURNETT, I believe in SARGENT, I think HARRIS is a brave soldier and a noble one, and if he leads the army it will encamp in Richmond, I have no doubt.

But we are past that time. We cannot manufacture reputations. The name of FREEMAN has been cherished by the slave ever since he believed, in '56, that his election was to be the jubilee of his freedom. He has cherished it like the name of his Saviour. He knows him, and if he heard he was there it would not need the evidence of that Proclamation for him to believe that he bore freedom in his eagles. [Applause.] After FREEMAN was defeated in the election, there was an insurrection in the Iron quarter of Tennessee. They killed some score of slaves. One stalwart fellow was whipped to death with hundreds of lashes, and during the last lash, as his spirit took its flight, he murmured out, "FREEMAN hears every blow and he will come." [Sensation.] If you was to land FREEMAN at Charleston to-day, he could walk to New-Orleans unopposed. [Applause.] Now there is to be an attack on Charleston, they say, within twenty days. Good. No doubt it may succeed if well done. But where, in the era of symbols, could a better man than FREEMAN be found? I have no preference for persons; we are beyond personal antipathies and attractions. [Applause.] But, when we want a man that four millions of slaves know and have known ever since 1856. (That's so.) Now send down into the Gulf States a man that will break this system up into lumps, and hurl it against the Confederacy, and you will make the army of the Rappahannock scatter like the dew. Why, what is our Massachusetts regiments doing at Newbern? They are guarding at the doors of white North Carolina women, whose sons and husbands are up in front of Richmond, fighting BURNETT. [Shame.] And our New-England Quartermaster is furnishing them supplies for the table every day out of the funds of the Union. [Shame.] Well, as long as wife and child are taken care of, husband and father can cross swords with BURNETT. [Shame.]

Now, you don't annihilate a thing by abolishing it. You have got to supply the vacancy. In the Gospel, when the chambers were swept and garnished, the devil came back, because there were no angels there. [Laughter.] If HARRIS should sweep Virginia clean, JEFF. DAVIS would come back with a hundred devils worse than himself, if he could find them—(laughter)—unless we put our institutions there. [Applause.] Now, there are in the vicinity of Fort Monroe 10,000 liberated contrabands. Gen. DIX proposes to send them to Massachusetts—the latest thing in the world. You might as well colonize your hand

[Laughter.] The robber of a house ought as well colonize his revolver. Why not colonize these men where they are. Confiscate the soil, and it will be like the time when men went to Kansas carrying plowshares, schools, sewing-machines and civilization. You will have begun New-York in Virginia, and Slavery cannot come back. [Applause.] You must supply the vacancy.

It seems to me it is a national error, a childish work, for the President, with his "Bo Peep" secrecy, to hide himself in the White House and launch a Proclamation at us on January 1. The nation should have known it sixty days before, and should have provided the machinery, a bureau, a preparation for the reception of three millions of bondsmen. When we launch a vessel we build the way, and well oil the means by which she will glide with facility and noiselessly into her native element. So, when a nation is to be born, the usual aid of Government should have been extended.

But the strength and endurance of this Northern nation is equal to the achievement required of us, if we only had the leaders, but we have none. I do not mean the President. He is an honest man—that is, Kentucky honest, [laughter], which is necessarily different from Massachusetts honesty or New-York honesty. You recollect the life of LUTHER, in four volumes of 700 pages each, [laughter], written by a patient German professor. The first volume began with an account of the mineralogy of the country, &c., and it was not till the second volume that he got LUTHER born. [Laughter.] The author was laying the foundations for the Reformer. Now, LINCOLN was born in Kentucky. He looks at this question with his Kentucky education. He means to do his duty with all the capacity that God gave him, but he has let the people struggle on up to this weapon, which we now hold glittering in our right hands. But I have no confidence in the counselors about him. I have no confidence in the voice of your son of New-York that stands at his right hand. [Applause and hisses.] I honor a man who expresses his opinion. I express mine, and I leave every man to express his. I am saying nothing about the motives of Mr. SEWARD, nothing, only that when a man is dying, a mistake in the medicine is just as bad as poison. [Applause and laughter.] The question is, whether his is the statesmanship of the hour? If it is not, then, on every theory of parliamentary government, he is bound to retire from his position and let a new man occupy his place. [Applause.] We have nothing to do to-day with men's honesty. Whether MCCLELLAN was honest or not is no business of mine. The results of his conduct are we have to do with. [That's so.] Many men can find a man who could serve JERRY DAVIS better than he did. I should like to know it. [Great applause.] When I see that the only policy Mr. SEWARD has announced in regard to this struggle is opposed to the proclamation of the President; that the chosen policy of the nation is one that he has announced he does not believe in, that he distrusts them; by every principle of parliamentary usage, the Premier is bound to retire when the idea to which he is opposed comes into power. [Applause.] What did we choose ABRAHAM LINCOLN for? Or what did you choose him for? I did not vote for him. Seventeen hundred thousand men said, "here presents the idea that we advocate."

Now, when RUSSELL invents a Monitor [applause] you give him the means to make it—not a common blacksmith. An idea should be trusted in the house of its friends for execution. Now I don't hold anybody responsible for me, and I am responsible for nobody, and I say this, that on the 4th day of December, 1860, JAMES BUCHANAN sent a message to Congress, and I have the best authority for stating that before he sent it, he submitted it to Wm. H. SEWARD, and from that time down to March, 1861, he consulted your New-York Senator as to the policy of the Government—rightfully, magnanimously in the exercise of the great powers of Government, he took into his counsels the statesman of the Republican Party; and if the history of the closing months of that Administration is written over with treason, I say the Premier—the Secretary of State—has his just share of the responsibility. [Hisses and applause.] I know Mr. THURLOW WOOD denies that JAMES BUCHANAN and Mr. SEWARD spoke to each other on the subject of public affairs; but, if he will ask Judge BLACK, he will tell him the means by which they communicated.

On the 4th of March, Mr. LINCOLN came into power, and on the 9th of March, as was developed upon the seizure of the dispatches in the telegraph office, we find our present Minister to Portugal telegraphing to South Carolina the details of secret Cabinet councils. The treasonable messages that HARVEY had been sending were laid before Mr. SEWARD, and, with those proofs in his hands, Mr. SEWARD sent HARVEY to the Court of Portugal to represent this Government.

In August the President laid this proclamation before the cabinet. STANTON, CHASE, BATES and WELLS voted for it, and BLAIR and SEWARD were against fixing the time at Dec. 1. SEWARD begged for a day's delay, and telegraphed for his Siamese twin from Albany. [Great laughter.] Mr. WOOD went to Washington, and the proclamation was smothered; and, to a Massachusetts Senator, SEWARD said—"I smothered it, and the best service I ever rendered to this Nation was when I smothered it." Now I do not dispute his right to have an opinion, and to act upon it in his official capacity. He understands the matter as well as you and I do. He has studied long and well. He has a right to his philosophy of the struggle, but I say that when the Government announces that the philosophy in which he trusts is mistaken, and that the nation trusts in a different one, the nation has a right to a new pilot. [Applause.] Now, for the next two years, what ABRAHAM LINCOLN does is law. We have no governmental trust but in his decision; and the duty of every citizen who believes in the machinery of Government before anarchy, is to stand by the President. [Applause.] But, it is equally the duty of every citizen to remember that we have the same individual interest in the successful result of this struggle as ABRAHAM LINCOLN or Wm. H. SEWARD.

Our past is like theirs. Our future is to be mixed up with the fate of the country. We have, therefore, not only the right but the duty to express our opinions—to demand of Congress, to demand of the President—that they not merely announce a policy, but that they give us the means to execute it; that they use the time that is left us; that they rouse up our unmistakable welcome for four millions of irresistible loyalists of the Southern States to give their help for the salvation of the Union. Not only a policy, but civil leaders that love it; not only a policy, but military leaders who believe in it. [Applause.] Not only the proclamation, but leaders that the slaves know represent the proclamation. [Applause.] That proclamation—to us it is but a step in national life—one more effort of the nation to put aside and shorten the agony of this civil war—a nation which must be great and prosperous in the end, no matter what be the present mistakes of these leaders. But, that proclamation to the slave. Let me picture to you that dispelling of the darkness, that sunshine to the slave, when for the first time he sees this Government giving to him the right to his wife and child. Other nations have made the corner stone of their nationality a great battle-ground like Thermopylae—others the nationality of a Chief like WILLIAM, the Conqueror; but, thank God, the corner stone of our nationality is to be the thanksgiving of four millions of bondmen whom we have raised to liberty. [Applause.] Think of the slave mother looking down to-morrow on the child nestling in her bosom, and multiply that joy by millions, and what must be the blessing that attends the step of such a people? Our flag floats in the thanksgiving of the slave—such a breeze never waited a banner to the sky.

With our land thus blessed, I believe in the success of our cause. I believe that the old slave I met in Boston, who came thirty miles over the ocean, on a skiff of two boards only, to get to the deck of the *Kingfisher*—thirty miles, and when our captain laid him to the deck, and told him, "Boy, don't you know that a hat full of wind would have carried you to the bottom?" he answered, "Lay, massa, God Almighty

never brought me down here to send me to the bottom."

So I believe that God never lifted the Union of '87 to the sublimity of this act to sunder it in pieces. Then

Sail thou on, O Ship of State;
Sail on, O Union, strong and great.
Huguenoty with all its fears,
With all its hopes for future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee!

The solemn and impressive tones of Mr. PARMES in the utterance of these lines made the scene impressive—and it was some moments ere the unusual stillness was broken by an unusual outburst of applause as the eloquent orator retired.

There were loud calls for Mr. GRANT, who was on the platform. Mr. GRANT complied by making a brief speech full of hope for the success of the cause of Liberty.

The proceedings closed with the singing of the new John Brown ode, led by Prof. LASON, the audience joining in the chorus. The following is the first verse:

JOHN BROWN died on a scaffold for the slave;
Dark was the hour when we dug his hallowed grave;
Now God avenges the life he gladly gave—
Freedom reigns to-day!
Glory, glory hallelujah,
Glory, glory hallelujah,
Glory, glory hallelujah,
Freedom reigns to-day!

1/20/63

OUR FUTURE.

Wendell Phillips Paints it Before an
Immense Brooklyn Audience.

Abraham Lincoln a Mosaic
President.

Of What the President is
the Result.

THIS CONTINENT IS OURS.

THE NEGRO IS TO SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

Popular Sentiment Indicates Butler for
New-Orleans and Fremont for
Newbern.

GREAT ENTHUSIASM.

A full house and WENDELL PHILLIPS have been seen and heard together for so many years, that a moderate assemblage at any place where he had been announced to speak, would be matter of surprise, and would warrant a journey thence. But the audience last evening at Plymouth Church was not a moderate one in any sense. The church was literally crammed, at 7 o'clock, although it had been advertised that the proceedings would not be commenced until 8 o'clock, and all seemed to know that fact, for it was not until the hour had upon the dial reached the then most interesting figure upon the dial's face, that the slightest impatience was shown, and that was answered immediately by a voluntary on the organ, followed by the singing of a hymn to liberty, written by Mr. THEODORE TILTON, and which was earnestly and heartily approved. The singing of the hymn concluded, Mr. PHILLIPS appeared upon the platform, accompanied by Mr. TILTON. As soon as the presence of Mr. PHILLIPS was known to the assemblage, he was long and rapturously applauded. When the general enthusiastic demonstrations had partially subsided, Mr. TILTON came forward and spoke substantially as follows:

REMARKS OF MR. TILTON.

He said he had been requested by Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, to say that it had been his intention to be upon the platform that evening to introduce his friend. But he had been debarred that privilege by engagements, partially caused by the demise of his lamented father. Under such circumstances, he had delegated him (Mr. T.) to welcome his friend to the platform of Plymouth Church, and introduce him to his audience; and in doing so, he felt sure that there was no frequenter of Plymouth Church, or other friend of the broadest humanity, who would not welcome to the freest of free speech, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. PHILLIPS was then introduced and renewed applause, and proceeded to speak as follows of "Our Future."

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This is indeed the third time that I have had the pleasure of standing on this platform, and this is the first time that I can say, to my great delight, that in coming here this evening I am exchanging pulpits with Mr. BEECHER, (laughter,) for he speaks to-night in Boston, from the Music Hall platform—where I am sometimes found—to a crowd, if possible, larger than you give me to-night. You recollect when I first had the pleasure of stand-

ing here. It was when a New-York mob had driven us from the Tabernacle, and when there was neither law nor order enough in that City to permit an Anti-Slavery voice to be heard. It was then that your Pastor said that New-York was overawed by the mob, Brooklyn was yet open for free speech, and that here it should be defended. (Applause.) The second time that I stood here was nigh three years ago, when I spoke to you in relation to JOHN BROWN, then in a Virginia jail. How great the result of that idea which he pressed upon the country! Do you know with what poetic justice Providence treats that very town where he lay in jail when I spoke to you before? The very man who went down from Philadelphia to bring his body back to his sad relatives—frailied every mile of the road, his life threatened, the bullets whistling around his head—that very man, for eight or ten months is Brigadier-General in command of the town of Charlestown and Harper's Ferry. (Applause.) By order of his superior officers, he had the satisfaction of finding it his duty, with his own right hand, to put the torch to that very hotel into which he had been followed with insult and contumely, as the friend of JOHN BROWN; and when his brigade was under orders to destroy all the buildings of that neighborhood, with reverential care he bade the soldiers stop to spare that engine-house that once sheltered the old hero. (Applause.) I do not know any history more perfectly poetic than that of single local instance given us in three short years. HENRY TINDALE, the friend of JOHN BROWN, who went there almost with his life in his right hand, commands, and his will is law, his sword the guarantee of peace, and by his order the town is destroyed, with the single exception of that hall, which JOHN BROWN'S presence has rendered immortal.

Now, the whole history of the country is in that single instance—wrapped up in it is the struggle which we come here to-night to talk about. I am to speak to you about our future. Well, it is fair to say that every one of you knows that no man can prognosticate our future. Great events, vast interests—the elements of civil society crushing and jostling against each other. In the Kaleidoscope of the future no man can sketch a certain picture. We can only speculate about the probable working out of the problem. We can only suggest for the moment what seems to be the duty of good citizens in bringing the country quicker and safest out of the struggle. I think if there are any ideas, fundamental, practical, indispensable—part and parcel of the American mind—they are these two—free speech on every subject—unfettered liberty of thought and utterance everywhere, and on every topic. That is the fundamental ideal of American civilization, and next to that, almost as fundamental, is that other element of our national character, the certainty that the continent belongs to us. (Applause.) That civilization is the working out of the most unfettered individuality consistent with comfort and the space given us by Providence for the working out of the problem is the American Continent. (Applause.) I believe these ideas make as much the real core of the heart of the man of Louisiana, as they do of Massachusetts, whether he is a slaveholder or a slave. Away with such a national character, but one attribute, possible, and that is the nature of freedom—the future of Union. (Applause.) No other great question awaits us. Everything of this side of that is chaff—either a war or a peace to it. I believe we never shall reach peace—the country will never return to a normal level, until it has reached absolute freedom and entire unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Now some men see one thing, and see one thing, and others see a path to that result. Some men speak of the Proclamation of the President; others fear submission to the slave power. The Republican ideal is Union on an Anti-Slavery basis. The Democratic ideal is Union on any basis whatever; the reconstruction of the Southern States—a *carte blanche*—a *tabula rasa*, no matter what terms you fix. My belief is that all that is only another party for war more or

less disguised, war more or less protracted, but, war. In true sense, this country has never known anything but war since '87. It was a war of ideas—a war of the ballot-box—it was a war of parties—it was a war of pulpits, but it was all the same war. The Southerner hated the Northerner, because he knew his "institution" was unsafe as long as the Yankee asked questions. (Laughter.) JAMES DAVIS knows to-day that there is but one corner stone for a Southern Confederacy based on Slavery, and that is slavery, in New-England, but he knows that that corner stone will come. He may "leave New-England out in the cold," but in the cold she still takes, (laughter and applause,) and as long as she exists thinking, his eyes rest on its apex, not on its base. It cannot be. It is not a war of sections. He knows it. New-Orleans to-day left to herself—certain that that flag of the Union would not be taken down—guaranteed against a Confederate re-assertion—New-Orleans to-day is in sympathy with New-York. She knows it is her friend. It is not a war of sections. It is

a war of ideas—ending only when one idea strangles the other, and not before. Peace comes when freedom holds the helm, and not before. Now, I would accept anything on an Anti-Slavery basis. I would accept separation. I would accept compromise. I would accept Union. I would accept peace, and pay the whole Confederate debt at par on an Anti-Slavery basis. On that basis I have reached the high pan of National existence. I have reached the granite strata, and may begin to build again in peace. And until I reach that, no chicanery of parties, no ingenuity of compromise, no number of repudiation can make any difference. We are in for the war. The South knows it, and if the North do know it now, it will learn it in the course of a year or two. (Laughter.) These events of the day, what do they mean? They mean the irresistible end of our institutions, which are stronger than any individual. That undercurrent which is bearing us on, and has borne us on for the last thirty years. It is an undercurrent to which we contribute, but which we have never controlled—inherent in free speech and in free thought. It is free speech a reality—no Wall-street Bank—no National parchment. Do you remember the boyish legend of the young man who went out to seek his fortune, and some fairy gave him a mill by which, when he entered into trade, he could procure any kind of product he wanted. He had only to wind it up, and produce the charm.

Grind mill—grind I say—
Grind it—grind away.

Instantly—whether he asked silk or wool, cotton or bricks, he had them. So he fixed up his little warehouse, and a magnificent business in the far East, or the South, where such things occur. His neighbors were in the process, and stole the mill. You recollect this is the way the legend accounts for the salt-works of the sea. The man got the stolen mill on board ship and weighed anchor, desiring to carry the prize to some other land. He wanted salt, would up the mill, pronounced the charmed words, and the mill ground out salt. It ground and ground; but he had forgotten to learn the counter-charm to stop the mill—it covered the ship with salt. It took the ship, and then salted the whole sea, and a grating yet, (laughter and applause.) Now, free speech is that mill. (Roars of laughter.) It began to grind when the Puritans landed at Plymouth Rock. It ground out Massachusetts. (Applause.) It ground out the Revolution. It ground out the Declaration of Independence. It ground out the Constitution. It ground out the Missouri agitation, that nearly broke the nation in halves. It ground out Kansas. It ground out Sumter. It ground out FARRAGUT'S Proclamation on the plains of Missouri. (Applause.) It ground out ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the first day of January. (Applause.) He meant to stop the day in the morning, but it will sink the nation with the saltiness of the Proclamation that covers the continent. (Applause.) He cannot stop it. It is grinding to-day. (Applause.) It will grind forever, and JEFF. DAVIS knows, and the whole South knows, that it will grind out their nation—making a bondage and aristocracy impossible in the nature of things. (Applause.) Now it is between these inherent and uncontrollable elements that the war goes on to-day.

The question is in us: What is to be the fate of this generation? Are we to believe, with Senator LAX of Kansas, that if the North is defeated in this individual fight, that we must write on her tombstone, "Killed by West Point?" or is there behind this routine something, so that we shall find the sky all bright and the clouds all faded? Practically, where are the dangers? Well, it seems that the dangers are these. There lay before us two sections, the North and the South, geographically for a moment. At the North is the Democratic party raising its head, and by the Democratic party I mean everything that wishes to settle this question without cleaning out Slavery. (Applause.) Everything opposed to peace on an Anti-Slavery basis. I include in my word Democrat. Now, what does this party mean to do? On the 4th of March, when this present Republican Congress ceases to exist—if not sooner called together by the President, and exerting the moral weight of the existence of such a legislative body of the Government—it means by the Supreme Court, which nobody is certain that he can trust to create a case to carry before that bench as they did the Dred Scott case. They expect an adverse decision, and upon the announcement of that decision they mean to throw the Judiciary across the path of the Executive, and say to the people that the Proclamation of the President conflicts with the Constitution. They may disarm the whole military movement, and the North may be put back, and also the preparations and purposes of the Republican Party—to prepare the way for a remonstrance, then for a convention, then for the admission of the rebel States into that convention, and then *carte blanche* for reconstruction on the basis of submission for a while to the old Slave power and the Constitution of '87. Now any man who knows the purpose of his party cannot doubt that what I have sketched in these few sentences is a fair view of the programme which they wish to carry out. Whether there will be an actual outbreak, and a marshaling of States against the National Government; whether there will be an effort to carry out the programme I have indicated, as I have indicated is the purpose of the party—this is the dark cloud before us. The reaction is not strong in its own strength—not because in the hearts of the people that is any basis for such a reaction, but because the Administration has given to its own party nothing to eat, (laughter and applause,) nothing to live upon, (laughter,) no military success, no assumption of power in the rebel States, no military activity, and, until the 1st of January last, not even a principle to swear by. (Applause.) The Republican Party has been defeated in the struggle simply because they had no means of replying to the bitter and relentless disclosures of their neighbors, in the elections of last Fall. I say this is the dark cloud in the sky before us.

Well, what is the bright section? The bright section is most in the policy—such as it is of the Administration. I come from Washington recently, and I cannot say hardly whether I am encouraged or discouraged. I cannot say we have not armies enough. The fault is not there. I think we have men enough, if we had leaders, as LOWELL said in his last poem:

anything that looked like it every town in his district would be divided. He would not say to blood, but next door to it, on the question whether they should not go with the South and not with New-England. So deeply has that leaven of Western jealousy penetrated the very best elements of Western politics. In such circumstances, we have no time to lose. That the Union and the slave is safe is no comfort. There are men to-day that would stretch their traitorous hands over two hundred thousand patriot graves and make peace with the traitors; but the rank and file of the Democratic party are ashamed to-day of Harrisburg and Albany. [Applause.] Northern politicians may contrive, but whatever *corte blanche* they may offer to Southern statesmen in their present mood of mind, none of the leading statesmen of the South will accept anything but independence. JEFF. DAVIS, and BENJAMIN and THOMAS scorn, with unutterable contempt, the Democrat that approaches them with the idea of conciliation. The French Minister MEXMER, went at the bidding of our own Secretary of State (your Senator) to Richmond within a month, and offered to J. P. BENJAMIN terms, at the dictation of the Premier, by which they (the rebels) should be admitted back into the Union, bearing the function of the representative of the French Emperor and the name of WM. H. SEWARD in his right hand; he was, morally speaking, kicked out of his presence. [Voices—"Good," "Saved him right."] There is great hope in that sublime pride of the Southern Confederacy, that it may give us this invaluable element of time which we need. The Proclamation can never be put back; it is an incomplete fact, but it is a fact. The Declaration of Independence in 1776 was never kept. We deserted it in '87; but it is the corner-stone of the movement which has revolutionized South America; has upset the throne of France three separate times; has changed the aristocratic Constitution of England into an essentially democratic one; has unseated the Pope from the Seven Hills and made Italy a unit. This incomplete "bull against the comet" has done all that. And if so, this child of that declaration, the more beautiful daughter of a beautiful mother, this Proclamation of January the 1st, is also a fact. He builded better than he knew. [Applause.] He announced a new idea for our nationality in June, 1853, when he said "this agitation means that the nation is half slave and half free; it must end either in disunion or in the nation becoming wholly slave or wholly free." That was his creed in June, 1853. In January, 1863, JEFF. DAVIS says south of Mason and Dixon's line "the country is all slave," and on that day ABRAHAM LINCOLN announces from the Lakes to the Gulf is mine, and it is all free. The Proclamation is not perfect, but it bears in itself the seeds of perfection. The nation pledges itself to Liberty; it has turned the corner, and it doesn't need any of Seward's chicanery nor LINCOLN'S blindness to blot out that record.

Now we might be put back in the voyage. He did not trust Southern pride in everything, for he remembered Kansas; and knew that the Davis who now threatened the globe with his vengeance, still held a willing ear to any overtures which might be made under Democratic auspices; and knowing that he was not sure but we might yet secure Southern subordination to Northern conciliation. One thing he considered necessary, and that was that JEFFERSON DAVIS must not only be conquered, but he must be made to know that he is conquered—which were two very different things. Now what was the lesson of the long sermon he had been delivering to them. It was a very serious one. He had discovered that scarcely any one went to Washington, who did not return home more distrustful of the success of the cause of freedom and good government than when he went away; while those who were wavering returned believing in slavery, and took courage. That should not be. The White House he considered accessible—it might be reached. He believed the meaning of the hand on the helm was sincere, even an Illinois politician might be affected. All the President wanted was to hear the voice of the people, and he would act, but that voice the people had not given him. When a question of finance was under discussion, Wall-street sent its Committee to Washington. Whenever there was a probability of cotton goods being effected, Boston merchants crowded the lobbies of the House and Senate; but when the cause of freedom hung trembling in the balance, we staid at home; our Representatives were silent, and the voices of border politicians were heard crying, "If you do fight for freedom, we will carry our States out of the Union." In the course of conversation with a friend who spoke in relation to the settlement of the Cabinet on the great question of the day, and thought the President should be advised of it, he had said don't go to the President. He (Mr. P.) could go there, who had no where else to go, but for his friend, it was his duty to go back to the House and speak there of what he knew—that would have some effect. Members who knew what had been done by members of the Cabinet speak out boldly what they know, take some of the responsibility upon themselves, and then the President can act. His friend said that would not do at the present time—they must preserve unity—a deceptive unity, in the opinion of Mr. PHILLIPS. They must speak out, and also sustain the President, for, said Mr. PHILLIPS, he's the only thing we've got left to sustain. [Laughter.] They must speak out, and let the President know what the people want, or, if they did not, they might, by putting their ears to the ground, hear the great West growling, "ABRAHAM LINCOLN, resign!" That would come to them surely—it would be borne to them on the northwest wind—unless they spoke out, told the President from their seats the facts, and took the responsibility. [Applause.] He believed President LINCOLN was an honest pilot, but that he didn't know the canal. [Laughter.] It was our duty to teach it to him, for he (the speaker believed) was willing to learn. We must say to the President that we mean Liberty, and must have it. [Applause.] FOSBERY had said to him that the Proclamation had

saved Pennsylvania—that they could not have done without it. [Applause.] He would not say that Secretary SEWARD was a traitor, as the *Albany Evening Journal* had charged him with saying. He would only say, that while the President said to the black man, "Aid me," Secretary SEWARD sends to Richmond and says, "Help me." [Applause.] And his firm belief was, that Secretary SEWARD was not a proper pilot to guide the ship under the name of Capt. LINCOLN. [Applause.] He believed in taking upon the black man for the aid he was so willing to give, and the return of BUREAU in New-Orleans, would be a guarantee to the negro that we ask him honestly to assist us in the struggle for freedom. But when would BUREAU be sent back to New-Orleans? Time was precious. Every hour of the next sixty or ninety days was fraught with the most momentous consequences, and when he remembered that when BUREAU was ordered there, he remained thirty-five days here dining with McCORMACK, without being told that if he did not leave for his destination within forty-eight hours he would be displaced, he confessed, it was very difficult to tell. [Applause.] All we could do was to range around our leader, tell him the truth, and stand by him in acting upon it. The Senate and the House know enough now to secure a change in the Cabinet, if they would speak out, but they dared not do it. He had said to a friend in Washington, who doubted the policy of speaking out, "You will go down like the *Cumberland*, with every gun shot to the hip, with colors flying in protest against inaction and asking for guarantees and security." [Applause.] There was no one willing to take a portion of the responsibility of speaking out. What was our Press, and what was the desire of

nearly all in a position to be heard effectively—simply to throw the entire responsibility upon the President—they don't take any part of it. There were facts known to one hundred men in the nation, which, if made public, would make the ears of the people tingle, about their leader in Washington, and yet they keep them secret—they dare not disturb their chances of success. He had not come to them to make a speech. He had come as he intended to go up along the banks of the Hudson, through the country and back to New-England, asking the people for a voice that will penetrate the White House and reach the ear of President LINCOLN—a voice, asking the Government to put arms in the hands of five hundred thousand black men, and invite them to assist us out of the struggle. When that shall have been accomplished, I shall be satisfied that success is sure. I will agree to say no more of the everlasting negro, [laughter.] I shall know then that there is a move on the chess board which can only result in Liberty and Union. [Great applause.]

When Mr. PHILLIPS had concluded, Mr. TALTON arose and said:

Is it your pleasure to send a message to the President of the United States?

Many Voices—Yes! Yes! Then

Resolved, That 3,000 men and women of Brooklyn say to ABRAHAM LINCOLN: Sir, wherever you see a black man, give him a gun, and tell him to save the Republic!

Will you vote that resolution? [Voices—Yes! Yes! Amen.] And in favor will say "Aye." [Many Ayes.]

He then said: "Let any man who says No, write himself a traitor and go home." [Applause.]

The choir then sang a hymn with a John Brown chorus, and the audience retired.

2/4/63

We have heard much of modern abolitionism, but the following I found in an old almanac, published in New York city in 1814. That Mr. Lincoln has proved the "Moses" that they prayed to stand for them, is without a doubt. Will you give it publicity if you think it of sufficient interest.

W. F. M.

FROM WOOD'S ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1814.
*Printed and sold by Samuel Wood, No. 357 Pearl street,
New York.*

The Negro's Prayer.

Lord, if thou doest with equal eye
See all the sons of Adam die;
Why dost thou hide thy face from slaves!
Consign'd by fate to serve the knaves.

Stolen or sold in Africa,
Imported to America,
Like hogs or sheep in market sold,
To stem the heat or brook the cold;
To work all day, and half the night,
And rise before the morning light.

Sustain the lash, endure the pain,
Expos'd to storms of snow and rain,
Pinch'd both with hunger and with cold,
And if we beg, we meet a scold;
And after all the tedious round,
At night to stretch upon the ground.

Has Heaven decreed, that negroes must,
By cruel man be ever curs'd?
Forever drag the galling chain,
And ne'er enjoy themselves again?
When will Jehovah hear our cries?
When will the sun of freedom rise?

When will a Moses for us stand,
And free us all from Pharaoh's hand?
What though our skin be black as jet,
Our hair be curl'd, our noses flat,
Must we for this no freedom have,
Until we find it in the grave?

WAGED BY SPIRITS.

How Lincoln Came to Issue His Emancipation Proclamation.

COL. KASE'S STRANGE NARRATIVE.

A Little Girl's Prophetic Utterances While In a Trance.

SINGULAR SCENE IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

A MERCURY representative one evening last week listened to a remarkable story regarding the spiritualistic belf of Abraham Lincoln and the effect which spiritual force had upon the conception and issuance of the Emancipation proclamation. The story was told by Colonel S. P. Kase, of Philadelphia, the millionaire railroad builder and close personal friend of the martyr President. At the close of a seance by Mrs. Williams that lady said to Colonel Kase that before he died he should leave some record behind him of his personal knowledge of Mr. Lincoln's belief in Spiritualism and the guidance which Mr. Lincoln acknowledged he received, through spiritualistic channels, during the stormy and

PERPLEXING DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

"Yes," Colonel Kase responded, "I have often thought of that, and will now give it to you for your 'Beacon Light.'" Mrs. Williams' amanuensis took down the colonel's story, and she kindly furnished the MERCURY representative with an advance copy.

"To answer your question in brief," Colonel Kase began, "I believe that President Lincoln was induced, by the knowledge received through Spiritualism, to issue

HIS PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

My knowledge on that subject is extensive. I had occasion to visit Washington in 1862 on railroad business. Arriving early in the afternoon, I took a walk down Pennsylvania avenue to the Capitol grounds. Passing a house near the grounds where I had formerly boarded, I saw the name of B. Conkling on the door. Mrs. Reeves had evidently moved away. I knew Conkling to be

A WRITING MEDIUM.

As I looked at the house alongside of me said, 'Go in and see him. He is in the same room you used to occupy.' I had no power to move forward. I felt that I must enter the house and I did. As I entered the room Conkling was sitting in a corner and was in the act of sealing a letter. He at once said, 'Mr. Kase, I want you to carry this letter to the President. You can see him, but I cannot.' I observed, 'I cannot take your letter; send it by mail.' He said, 'You must take it to him, otherwise he will not see it.' I replied, 'I can't take your letter, as I am not acquainted with the President and I am on important business and want to be introduced to him under different auspices than delivering a letter I know nothing about.' Immediately the voice behind me said, 'Go see what will become of this.' It was the same voice that I had heard upon the street. My mind changed instantly. I said, 'I will go if you go along, too. Give me the letter.' Conkling said, 'I cannot see him, but you can.' All this time Conkling remained in an abnormal state. We arrived at the White House about dusk. I rang the bell and a servant opened the door.

THE PRESIDENT WAS AT TEA.

but would see me after that. When we had entered the parlor Conkling said, 'I cannot see him, but you can.' Presently the servant came to the door and invited me forward. He opened the door of the President's room. The President was coming forward to meet me, but as he saw me he drew back, apparently a little frightened. [It might be said that Colonel Kase is a perfect image of George Washington and his resemblance to the first President may have forcibly struck Mr. Lincoln.] "I remarked, 'This is the President, Mr. Lincoln, I presume.' He hesitated, but finally said, 'Yes,' I said, 'My name is S. P. Kase, of Danville, Pennsylvania.' "Oh," he remarked, "you are from Pennsylvania. Be seated." I took a chair upon one side of the table, he on the other. Mr. Lincoln began to draw me out about Pennsylvania and the then condition of things there. We discussed politics and the war question for half an hour. I found him very affable and agreeable. I handed him the Conkling letter and after reading it he looked at me and said, 'What does this mean?' I answered, 'I do not know, Mr. President, but I presume it means

JUST WHAT IT SAYS.

He again read it over to himself very carefully and said again, 'What can this mean?' I re-

plied, 'I was standing in the gallery feeling well satisfied with the result of my railroad mission when an

OLD LADY APPROACHED ME

and handed me a card," saying, 'Call any time it will suit you.' I was surprised, but took the card. The old lady was Mrs. Laurie, of Georgetown, and I learned from Judge Wattles who was standing close by that she was a Spiritualist. The judge and I called that night about eight o'clock, and we should we meet but the President and Mrs. Lincoln.

"Mr. Lincoln shook hands with me very cordially and we entered into conversation. This was about four weeks after I had given him Conkling's letter. Soon I

OBSERVED A YOUNG GIRL

come walking up towards the President from the other end of the large parlor. I had not noticed her in the room previously. Her eyes were closed and she was stroking her chin. She came up close to the knee of the President and said: 'Sir, you were called to the position you occupy for a very great purpose. The world is universally in bondage. It must be physically set free so that it may mentally rise to its proper status. There is a spiritual congress supervising the affairs of this nation as well as a congress at Washington. This republic will lead the van of republics throughout the world.'

THIS WAS A TEXT

upon which she lectured the President for a full hour and a half, dwelling strongly on the importance of the emancipation of the slaves, saying that the war could not end unless slavery was abolished. Among other things she prophesied that from the time of the issuing of the emancipation proclamation there would be no reverses to the Union armies. I never listened to a lecture so grand and sublime and so full of thought as this delivered by a little girl, who must have been under deep control of the spirit of some ancient philosopher. The President listened with the greatest attention throughout her discourse.

IT WAS A SCENE

that could never be erased from the mind, bringing to mind the passage in the Scriptures where the head of the nation was being taught wisdom by babes and sucklings. The girl woke up out of her tranced condition and, frightened at the thought of speaking before the President, ran off. Then the piano began to play and looking in that direction I saw Mrs. Laurie's daughter playing, with her eyes closed, apparently entranced. The piano rose up and beat the time of the tune played on it. When she had played the tune I asked the privilege of sitting on the instrument that I might be able to verify to the world that it moved to the tune of the music. She observed at once: 'You may get on the piano and as many more as think proper.' Judge Wattles' two soldiers, who came with the President and myself, got on it. She began to play and the instrument commenced to

MOVE UP AND DOWN

with all four of us on it. Its motion was so violent that we got off it and stood alongside till she played out the tune. The President sat looking at us all through this performance, apparently much interested. About eleven o'clock we all returned to our respective homes. Two evenings following I went to Mrs. Laurie's, where I again met the President and Mrs. Lincoln. The President was again lectured by the little girl and the instrument was played as before stated. Sufficient be it to say that within some three or four weeks after these manifestations, and interviews President Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, to take effect on January 1, 1863, so that I am fully assured within my own mind that the various spiritual manifestations witnessed, together with information received on the subject,

FULLY CONVINCED PRESIDENT LINCOLN

of the necessity of issuing his great proclamation. It is well, however, to refer to the prophecies made by the little girl, saying the war could not end unless slavery was abolished and that no reverses should occur to the Union armies after the emancipation proclamation was promulgated. I believe we had twenty-six battles after this great event and were all successful on the Union side, except possibly one or two unimportant skirmishes. You may think this a rather tedious detail of my knowledge on this point, but in order to be truthful and to hand it down as it actually occurred, I conceived it necessary to be explicit in my details of facts connected with such a great historical event."

COLONEL KASE ADDED

that when Mrs. Lincoln was put into an asylum as insane, because she claimed to hear spirit voices, he wrote to the son, Robert Lincoln, then Secretary of the Interior, and told him about his mother's Spiritualism and that she was a medium, and stated that if he (the son) left her in the asylum he would be responsible for any harm that should happen her. Four days after he wrote this letter Mrs. Lincoln was removed from the asylum by order of Robert Lincoln.

The Reported Sale of the Herald Press

1891

211K

THE TASK THAT NEEDED GOD.

In the February Circle magazine James Oppenheim pictures Lincoln the night before the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. He knew—how well he knew—at that moment how little a part he was playing. Something behind all things—something beneath all things—the vast power and love—were working out in America the liberation of the toilers of humanity. And he? He, the common man—the boy born of “white trash,” poor whites in Kentucky—the boy inured to hard farm-hand labor—the poor country lawyer—Old Abe—the rail splitter—yes—he smiled grimly to himself—though on a throne, he was still a common man—same old stuff—same Old Abe—same old loafer and joker and comrade. He had a Napoleon’s position and power. He laughed at himself. How poorly Napoleon’s shoes fitted his big feet.

And then he thought of his Proclamation. It was safely waiting in some desk drawer. Which? He forgot which. He was pretty shiftless about things and the old Proclamation might be in his hat band for all he knew. For a moment it flashed across his mind that this Proclamation might lead to his own downfall, his disgrace. Was the country ready for it? It was a daring act, and he had to do it alone. No one else could share the responsibility. At one stroke of the hand of one man and that man himself, the slaves of two centuries, the millions of black animals, would be promised their freedom if the Confederacy did not surrender by the first of the year. And if he made the promise he would keep it. A terrible power was in his hands. That stroke of his pen might ruin these United States with all the future millions on millions of human souls!

He lay for some time staring into the darkness. But up and up he looked, as if he saw God. And then into his breaking heart, his shattered soul, a flood of light seemed to be poured; it streamed into him; it swept through him, the room seemed charged with spirit. Making him tingle, came the divine glory. He felt strong; he felt buoyant; he felt sure. It was the sacred moment. He knew now he would go on with the task until it was ended. He knew now that God was with him. He knew now that he was the tool which God’s great hand was using in the Nineteenth Century. He determined, once and for all, that come death or defeat, he would go forth on the morrow and issue his Proclamation. The slaves would be free!

Lincoln N. G., But Wilson and Ford Are Great!

The National Republican is in receipt of a letter from "A. Woleris," who describes himself as a traveling man, and mails his communication on a train under a "Kansas City and Siloam" postmark, dated December 27. Mr. Woleris says he is a Woodrow Wilson-Henry Ford Democrat, who considers the failure of the Senate to expel Senator Newberry for defeating Ford an infamous crime. He says he frequently runs across a copy of the National Republican, and continues:

"It is supposed that you print Washington's picture and that of A. Lincoln as two great men for a big job at Washington. The

next time you want to write about the greatness and honesty of Mr. Lincoln, print that part of the Constitution of the United States in regard to owning slaves, then print the oath that Lincoln took as President of the United States, then print his famous Emancipation proclamation, then see if he is not the only President of the United States to violate his oath of office. The question of secession was never before any court. If Mr. Lincoln had been as good as you claim he would have had the question settled by the Supreme Court, then if the South had refused to obey, war could have been justified. As it was it was a chance to plunder and destroy the Southland, as history proves. Mr. Wilson won the greatest war of history and your class of Republicans almost die with envy. The West will not stand for such rottenness as keeping Senator Newberry in."

P. 7. 1522

SENATOR BAILEY FILES OBJECTION

Texan Opposes Printing of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in Record.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—The business of the senate yesterday consumed less than an hour, nearly half of which was devoted to the consideration of nominations in executive session, of which a large number were confirmed.

A motion by Senator Gore of Oklahoma to print the inaugural address and the proclamation of emancipation by President Lincoln in the Congressional Record in celebration of the centenary year of Lincoln's birth brought Senator Bailey of Texas to his feet with an objection to the printing of the proclamation of emancipation. Further discussion was stopped by a reference of the entire matter to the committee on printing.

Transacting business without even the semblance of a quorum, the house of representatives today passed several bills of a miscellaneous character, but of little general public importance. The only incident worthy of note during the consideration of these measures was a heated discussion among the members of the Indiana delegation over a bill to provide for the establishment of judicial divisions in the district of Indiana. The measure failed of passage through the refusal of a majority to order its third reading and its being subsequently laid on the table. Over two hours were devoted to consideration of the bill providing for the erection of embassy and legation buildings abroad, without any conclusion being reached with regard to it.

Among the bills to successfully run the gauntlet was one providing for the granting of leaves of absence, with pay for thirty days, of employees on the Panama canal injured in line of duty.

At 5 p. m. the house adjourned.

Gen. McClellan's Mistake.

Congressman Vaux of Philadelphia, in his late years changed his views about President Lincoln. He told an interesting story about the proclamation of emancipation. The classic and scholarly Vaux had been making speeches in Connecticut, and came home with Frank P. Blair of Missouri, who was very close to the many-sided patriot president while the war lasted. Gen. Blair told Richard Vaux this story:

"Mr. Lincoln had become impatient at Gen. McClellan's delay on the peninsula, and asked Frank Blair to go with him to see the commanding general. The distinguished visitors arrived on a hot day, and went straight to McClellan's headquarters. They were received with scant courtesy, and the commanding general did not ask the president to eat or drink. Lincoln sat in his white linen duster, uncomfortably silent; with his long and sinewy limbs doubled up like a jackknife, till finally Gen. McClellan broke the dense silence by saying:

"Mr. President, have you received the letter I mailed you yesterday?"

"No," courteously replied Lincoln; "I must have passed it on the way."

McClellan then requested his chief of staff to find a copy of the letter. It was speedily produced, and Gen. McClellan proceeded to crush Mr. Lincoln by reading his vituperative attack on Stanton, with reflections on Lincoln's conduct of the war. Lincoln's peaceful smile vanished. When the letter ended he rose quickly, looking neither to the right nor left—not waiting for any farewell to Gen. McClellan.

He seemed oppressed with the consciousness of the dangers of the military as well as the political situation of things. He drove slowly with Gen. Blair over to the boat, which was to convey them from Harrison's landing back to Washington. When the vessel had started, Mr. Lincoln, for the first time since leaving McClellan's tent, broke the silence and said to Gen. Blair:

"Frank, I now understand this man. That letter is Gen. McClellan's bid for the presidency. I will stop that game. Now is the time to issue the proclamation emancipating the slaves."

He forthwith issued the proclamation of emancipation. Within a week after the world was startled by a new charter of freedom for the slave.

Hon. Fred W. Seward was accustomed to tell this story of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln, to which he was a witness: When the proclamation was engrossed Mr. Seward, who was then Assistant Secretary of State under his father, William H. Seward, was sent with the document to the White House to get the signature of President Lincoln. When he arrived there he found Mr. Lincoln occupied with a reception, which detained him two or three hours. At the end of this the President entered the room where Mr. Seward was waiting, and, greeting him cordially, asked him, "Well, Mr. Assistant Secretary, what can I do for you to-day?" "I have here," said Mr. Seward, "a document I bring to you for your signature." Mr. Lincoln took the proclamation and, observing what it was, his face grew grave and he paced up and down the room, vigorously rubbing his hands together. Finally he said: "I have been shaking hands with several hundred people and my fingers are stiff. I do not want to sign that proclamation with a hand that appears to tremble or show any uncertainty." He then sat down, and, taking a pen, signed the proclamation in a firm hand, showing the signature to Mr. Seward and asking him if he thought it would do. Mr. Seward asked the privilege of taking with him the pen with which the proclamation was signed, and this he preserved with great care among his choicest relics of the time of the Civil War.

may 1911

BEFORE Lincoln freed the slaves they were just about what their ancestors had been since the beginning of history, so far as we know it. Most of them were imported from the region that borders the gulf of Guinea. As a rule they were superb specimens, physically. The men were strong, lithe and well formed, though not as hardy as their frames might have indicated, be-

ing prone to contract consumption. The women, in youth, were cast in the mold of Venus, but soon lost their symmetry.

As far back as written records go, these people had been neighbors of the Egyptians. Along the great valley of the Nile, for thousands of years, there are traces of the Ethiopian race. The subjects of the Pharaohs deemed it no disgrace to intermarry with the dark-skinned peoples. In many of the old paintings and statues there are traces of negroid influences.

As our own Bible proves, the Hebrew race, at least from the days of Solomon, was none the

less prone to take to wife the well born of the African women. Only a few years ago the Abyssinians claimed to have discovered a manuscript which gave authentic and interesting accounts of the memorable journey which an ancient Queen of Sheba made to Solomon's court.

Yet, throughout the ages, it has been the invariable rule that when the black came in contact with the white man the black man died out. He has been present in many of the most notable scenes of history, but he has taken no memorable part in them. Always he has been a lover of the good things of life, and of a more amatory than warlike disposition. Some centuries ago his lands were desolated by the Vandals, who went through Africa like a fire-brand, leaving nothing but ruins to mark their course.

And now, for the first time in all history, as Dr. Booker T. Washington pointed out in a recent speech, the negro is proving that he can exist in the company of the white man.

"My race has justified the fifty years of its emancipation," said Doctor Washington. "We have proved that we could live near the American white man and increase in numbers. We are the only race with a dark skin that has been able to live side by side with the white man and still increase in numbers. My race now numbers 10,000,000 American citizens, and it looks as though we were to live together for a long time, as I see no sign of the negro going away anywhere else. The negro is better able to understand, use and digest the white man's methods of civilization than is any other race. We are more like your type than is any other race from foreign countries."

As to the difference between the red man and the black man, Doctor Washington drew the following contrast:

"Congress annually appropriates from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000 for the American Indian. Never, since the days of reconstruction, has the negro called upon the American people to help him in any way, except for churches and institutions whereby he may receive an education to enable him to help himself. You do not see the negro on your street corners with hand outstretched begging for alms. I am proud of being a black man, because my race has a big problem to solve. I thank God every day that I am a negro, and I do not seek or crave any man's pity because I belong to my race."

The truth of Doctor Washington's observation may be appreciated by a survey of the fate of other peoples who have been thrown in contact with the white man. The Hawaiians, as a race, are being overridden. The native Mexicans are vanishing. The Indians, through their refusal to adopt the ways of civilization for several generations, were reduced to a shadow of their former selves. Only a few years ago, it was, that the tide began to turn again in their favor, and then merely because enough wildness was wearing out of their natures to allow them to adapt themselves to their changed environment.

On the contrary, the negro has doubled in numbers in just half a century since Lincoln affixed his signature to the emancipation proclamation. Not only that, but he reduced his illiteracy in thirty years, from 1870 to 1900, by 43 per cent. Since then, of course, the ratio has not been so great, for two reasons: some old people are left who do not particularly care for education and the younger element is so much better schooled that there is not room for such a sensational showing as was made when the liberated slaves began to take advantage of their new-found opportunities.

Indeed, one can scarcely appreciate the advances that have been made by Lincoln's wards, unless he makes a mental picture of the conditions in which they existed from one to two centuries ago.

There is the African home, which one writer has thus described:

"The domiciles of the negroes, in the widespread tendency to grouping around a central point and to

The Emancipation Proclamation and Its Fruits

"And by virtue of the power for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within designated States, or parts of States [such as were in rebellion] are, and henceforth shall be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons; and I hereby enjoin the people so declared free to abstain from all violence, unless in self defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully and for reasonable wages. And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in such service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

THE GROWTH OF THE NEGRO

First negroes arrived on the American continent in 1620, and were sold into slavery at Jamestown, Va.

Number of slaves in America at the close of the revolution, 650,000.

Number of slaves in America at the beginning of the civil war, 4,500,000.

Number of negroes in America today, 10,000,000.

Percentage of increase in fifty years, 125.

Percentage of white population in 1910, 88.9.

Percentage of negro population in 1910, 10.7.

Value of a slave a century ago, \$600.

Value of a slave at the beginning of the civil war, \$1200.

Property owned by 4,500,000 slaves in 1863, none.

Property owned by 10,000,000 freedmen in 1913, \$600,000,000.

STATUS OF EDUCATION IN 1863

Twenty negroes, in 300 years, had obtained college training.

STATUS OF EDUCATION IN 1913

Colleges and private schools managed and practically supported by negroes, 200.

Negro children attending schools, 3,000,000.

Taxes contributed to schools by negroes in forty years, \$15,000,000.

Books written by negroes, 2000.

Periodicals conducted by negroes, 200.

Churches owned by negroes, 35,000, valued at \$56,000,000.

Contributed annually to churches, \$7,560,000.

Members of churches, 4,000,000.

Contributed yearly to secret and beneficial societies, \$6,000,000.

Institutions supported by negroes—Orphanages and retreats of old folks, 60; hospitals, 30; cemeteries, 500.

Negroes in state and government service, about 20,600.

Negroes in military service—Four regiments in the army and many hundreds of individuals in the navy.

Negroes in professions—Teachers, 21,000; clergymen, 15,000; physicians, 2500.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS IN 1863

All but a minute percentage were servants or the lowest types of field hands.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS IN 1913

Business establishments owned by freedmen, 10,000.

Drug stores owned by negroes, 300.

Banks owned by negroes, 57.

Land owned by negroes in the south, 20,000,000 acres, an area larger than the Kingdoms of Belgium and Holland—equivalent to every seventh farm in the country.

Land cultivated, included that rented as well as owned, 40,000,000 acres, worth \$500,000,000.

Gross incomes of farms conducted by negroes, \$250,000,000 a year—equal to one dollar in every sixteen produced by American farms.

Homes owned by negroes, 600,000.

NEGROES IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

Farmers	750,000	Railway hands	55,000
Miners	36,000	Teamsters	70,000
Sawmill employes	33,000	Porters	28,000
Carpenters	21,000	Barbers	20,000
Nurses	20,000	Masons	14,000
Dressmakers	24,000	Engineers and firemen	10,000
Blacksmiths	10,000	Housewives and mistresses of independent homes	2,000,000

fencing, as well as in the prevalent light construction with grass, reeds, stalks or boughs, show a principle due to nomadism. Genuine nomads build temporary huts of brushwood, which they protect by laying mats or skins over them, a construction which extends from the fish-eaters of the Red sea even to the Hottentots. The only firm part of these huts is some kind of stone wall carried round them to prevent the rain from washing away the sand and the water from pouring in the house.

"Among the pastoral races the individual huts are usually placed in a circle round an open space, into which the herds are driven at night. Larger villages often contain several inclosures, hedged or palisaded, for herds and flocks; and the whole settlement is finally once more surrounded by a large hedge."

With these people, marriage was mainly a matter of barter and sale. Their home life was as rude and uncouth as their dwellings. They were nomadic, or but one degree removed from that mode of livelihood.

THREE CLASSES OF SLAVES

And now, to picture their homes as slaves during the half century preceding the civil war is not quite so easy, because there were three classes of servitors, whose modes of life were as wide apart as the north pole from the south. As described by Prof. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, of Atlanta University, these three classes were:

"* * * the patriarchal type, found at its best in Virginia, where the housing of the slaves might be compared with that of the poorest of the northern working men; the separate group and absentee type, where the slaves had practically no homes and no family life; and the town group, where the few house servants were fairly well housed. In discussing slavery and incidents connected with it, these varying circumstances are continually lost sight of."

The early homes of the slaves were log cabins, grouped around the log house of the master, which was usually of from two to four rooms. The huts of the black men were rarely more than one room, with a rough fireplace of stones and sometimes a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. As building improved, a fireplace was sometimes added.

Gradually, as the white master advanced in wealth and culture, he began to move away from the cabins of his servitors. An overseer took his place, and thus arose the worst of the abuses that resulted in a war for the abolition of the slave trade. Particularly in the gulf states, where all that was expected from the taskmasters was a large return from crops, the conditions were at their worst. Of them, Professor Du Bois has written:

"The homes of the field hands were filthy hovels where they slept. There was no family life, no meals, no marriages, no decency: only an endless round of toil and a wild debauch at Christmas time. In the forests of Louisiana, the bottoms of Mississippi and the sea islands of Georgia, where the negro slave sank lowest in oppression and helplessness, the negro home practically disappeared, and the house was simply rude, inadequate shelter."

Of the dwellings of the slaves in general, observers of the early eighteen hundreds were not usually over-enthusiastic. One writer, who described the conditions in South Carolina in 1819, said that "the houses for the field slaves were about fourteen feet square, built in the coarsest manner, with one room, without any chimney or flooring, with a hole in the roof to let the smoke out." In Florida, in 1830, it was reported that the "dwellings of the slaves were palmetto huts, built by themselves of stakes and poles, thatched with the palmetto leaf. The door, when they had any, was generally of the same materials, sometimes boards found on the beach. They had no floors, no separate apartments. * * *

From these rough cabins the black race emerged into full freedom at one stroke of Lincoln's pen; such a transformation has possibly never been witnessed, before or since. The liberation of the serfs by the Czar Alexander of Russia could scarcely compare with the abolition of slavery, because the serfs were of the same color and race as the liberator; no unremovable stigma attached to them. Poverty stricken as they were, they proved that they could produce brilliant

minds; such as that of Gorky, the novelist, for example, who came from what we would call the hobo class.

In this respect, however, the black race is not behind the white. Dr. Booker T. Washington himself was born a slave. Now he is looked upon as one of the ablest writers and educators of the age. "Up From Slavery," one of his books, is by some placed among the very few really great works of this generation; as is another production of a negro writer, "The Souls of Black Folk," by Professor Du Bois, previously quoted. T. Thomas Fortune is one of the successful negro editors of the time, and has also written several books, among them "Black and White" and "The Negro in Politics." Most people will readily remember, too, the name of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, who turned from elevator boy to poet, and astonished England, as well as America, when brought into the limelight through the efforts of William Dean Howells.

In art the dark-skinned race has not been behind-hand. Henry O. Tanner, known the world over as a painter of sacred subjects, is represented in the Luxembourg, in France, and has won gold medals and other high honors in the various exhibitions in Paris.

Nor, when it comes to business and agriculture, is the negro less distinguished. It is doubtful if any serf has ever excelled the record of Alfred Smith, long the "cotton king" of Oklahoma. Scarcely had the shackles fallen from him than he emigrated to the western state and took up a claim. Before long his cotton began taking premiums wherever he showed it, and his productions were of such high quality that he found it possible to pick up farm after farm. His crowning achievement came in 1900, when he received the first prize at the world's fair in Paris.

Kansas produced J. G. Groves, the potato king, who came to own many farms, and from them produced an average of 245 bushels to the acre. Georgia has to her credit Deal Jackson, who gradually accumulated several thousand acres of land, which he had in cotton. Virginia showed up with W. H. Johnson, who made a fortune as an exporter of walnut logs.

Examples of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely. Scarcely a city now but has a colony of rich colored folks.

Almost unnecessary it is to present the third picture—the negro home of today—because it has improved along with the people. Of course, in both city and country, there are negro slums as well as white slums. Yet, on the other hand, the average freedman's home is as much above the one-room shacks that the slaves had to be content with fifty years ago as the modern dwelling tops the old log cabins that white people formerly inhabited.

Worst of all, naturally, are the country homes of the south, which comprise nearly three-quarters of the 2,000,000 negro households of the nation. Whenever a freedman has graduated into a land owner, his home has risen with his financial status. A great proportion of the houses, though, are "either the actual slave home or its lineal descendant," because "emancipation brought at first no violent or far-reaching change in negro country home life." In the remote districts there was no change at all. Yet, gradually, as the cities have attracted colored laborers, they have either rebuilt, added to, or at least improved their houses in the country when they returned to them.

It is in the "black belts" of the south, indeed, that the greatest improvement is still to be made. One of them, probably typical of the others, showed that 40 per cent of the families still live in one room; 43 per cent in two rooms, 10 per cent in three rooms and 7 per cent in four or more rooms. Basing an estimate on these percentages, there are still 440,000 families who still live in one room. Rather discouraging, this seems, but it is hardly to be considered as a poor showing, when but half a century ago practically 4,000,000 people were "one roomers."

Household economics have advanced with the improvement in housing conditions. Starting again with the African savages, they usually relegate a good deal of the druggery to women, who are the farmers and food preparers, while the men turn their attention to hunting, cattle raising and weaving. Children are usually independent of their parents early in life, roaming about almost at will. Many communities have common houses for the young of both sexes.

During slavery days, most of those Africans from the Gold Coast found little improvement in their domestic lives when they reached America. Marriage was legally unknown; their family relations depended largely upon the sufferance of their masters. When there was no sufferance, there was no home life whatever.

Just half a century has witnessed the rise of 2,000,000 women, who have become heads of households and housewives in every sense of the word. As for the children, there are 1,750,000 who attend the 35,000 colored Sunday Schools attached to the 37,000 churches.

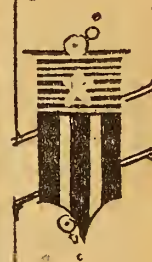
Taking all these things into consideration, one can begin to appreciate how much of a debt the negro owes to Lincoln—and the caucasian, too, for that matter, because the prospect that the dark race will gradually place itself upon a sound economic basis means that "the white man's burden" will become considerably lighter.

1863

FEB 12 1926

THE EVENING TRIBUNE

Most Famous Documents Lincoln Signed



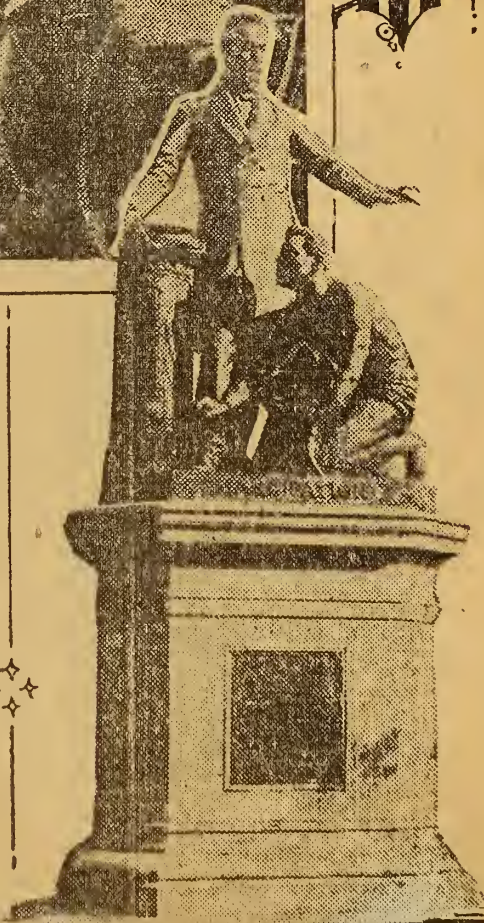
And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose of
exercised, I do order and declare that all persons held
as slaves within said designated States, and part of
States, are, and henceforward shall be free;

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be
an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon
military necessity, I invoke the consideration of
mankind, and the gracious favor of the
mighty God.

L. I. Independence of the United States
of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

Central Press



Last page of most famous document signed by Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipation Proclamation, which ended slavery forever in North America, is shown here. Historic painting reproduced at top shows the cabinet meeting in which he brought up the matter, just before its issuance, and was met with bitter opposition. The emancipation statue of Thomas Ball, which stands in Boston, with a replica in Washington, is also shown.

Christian Science Emancipation

Monitor

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

2/12/21

THE name of Abraham Lincoln is indissolubly associated with the abolition of human slavery. While Lincoln's activities were limited to a single section of the earth, the effect of his labors is so widespread as to make it certain that no race will again be held in bondage by a civilized people. The right of every person to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is so generally acknowledged that the nations would never again tolerate so abhorrent a system as human slavery.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that justice must mark the relationships alike between individuals and nations to insure progress toward the goal of true brotherhood, which Christ Jesus came to establish—the true purpose of human experience. While it still is held that races have had only restricted opportunities are far behind the more advanced peoples, yet it is also recognized that all are entitled to the most favorable conditions under which to work out their salvation.

This progress in human thought is contemporaneous with the development of another type of emancipation, the gaining by individual men and women of freedom from the restrictions of mental bondage. This freedom is even more significant than freedom from human slavery, since it includes salvation from every type of bondage, both bodily and mental. It includes liberation from every belief of materiality which would bind mortals to the beliefs of the flesh, release from which, it is believed by many, is possible only through the gates of death.

It is highly significant that scarcely more than three years after Lincoln issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation, Mary Baker Eddy discovered Christian Science, whereby mankind may be freed from every type of bondage, both mental and material. Of this immensely important event Mrs. Eddy writes in "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" (pp. 225, 226): "The rights of man were vindicated in a single section and on the lowest plane of human life, when African slavery was abolished in our land. That was only prophetic of further steps toward the banishment of a world-wide slavery, found on higher planes of existence and under more subtle and depraving forms."

One of a necessity inquires, What is this slavery that is so general as to be termed world-wide, and how may freedom from it be gained? These questions Christian Science is answering for the whole world so satisfactorily that mankind everywhere is being freed from the false beliefs of the flesh, termed sickness and sin, and true freedom is being won. How? Through the scientific destruction of the seeming fetters that bind, those restricting beliefs of the so-called human mind which hold mortals earth-bound and limited. This is the true emancipation, whereby salvation is won through the gaining of spiritual freedom. This crusade is carried on in the name of the higher liberty, and its reward is the freedom which belongs to the real man as the son of God.

Through the application of spiritual law, as revealed by Mrs. Eddy, it is being demonstrated that all material beliefs are unreal, and therefore are to be replaced by the facts of being. The Christ, Truth, the truth about God and man and the spiritual universe, is supplanting material thinking, and evil is losing its seeming power. This type of emancipation is permanent; and once gained it can never be lost. It is the result of understanding that God's idea, man, was never in bondage to material belief; that man abides forever in the realm of Spirit, subject only to God's law of love, free from domination by human will or mortal belief. The shackles of human slavery are, indeed, being cast off, and men are standing forth in the true liberty which belongs to the sons of God.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that man's true state is that of freedom, not of bondage. Moreover, freedom in its larger sense is found to include liberation from whatever restricts and binds, whether belief in sin or sickness, want of means or lack of opportunity. What complete emancipation is this! The familiar words of Christ Jesus, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," are being found wholly demonstrable; for the Christ, Truth, on every hand is setting mortals free from every type of erroneous belief. It is being proved that slavery is not the native state of man. With Paul men are declaring, "I was free born;" and, "Where the Spirit of

the Lord is, there is liberty." As the spirit of the Lord is universal, liberty likewise is universal; hence, nowhere is bondage legitimate. Mrs. Eddy sums it all up in these words (Science and Health, p. 227): "Love and Truth make free, but evil and error lead into captivity." Destruction of evil or error in human thought, where alone it seems to abide, brings the only true emancipation.



CONNECTICUT
STATE LIBRARY
HARTFORD, U. S. A.

October seventeenth
1928

Louis A. Warren, Director,
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation,
Fort Wayne, Ind.

My dear Mr. Warren:

Replying to your recent letter of inquiry concerning collection of Lincoln material, I am pleased to state that the Connecticut State Library has not only the table on which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation with the accompanying affidavit relating to the same, but it has also various bronze busts and statues and a considerable collection of books relating to President Lincoln.

I have no knowledge of any special Lincoln work now in progress here in Connecticut but our Lincoln collection here in Memorial Hall in the State Library, occupies the central and front portion of a large exhibition vault which occupies the opposite side of the north front of this beautiful room as a companion vault to the one occupying the northwest side and containing the Joseph C. Mitchelson Collection of Coins, Medals, etc.

I hasten to assure you that the Connecticut State Library will be pleased to receive through your favor when published a copy of your findings which must be, as you intimate, a real contribution to Lincolniana.

With all good wishes for the heroic bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln which is to be done by Mr. Paul Manship of New York and for its proper installation and appreciation, I remain

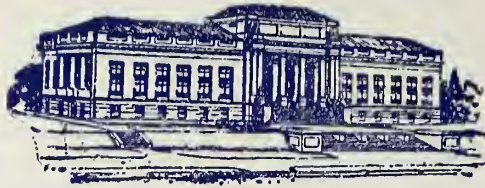
Very sincerely,

Geor. S. Godard
State Librarian

GSG LGG

RECEIVED FOR MR. GODARD
AT HIS RESIDENCE

9.



CONNECTICUT
STATE LIBRARY
HARTFORD, U. S. A.

November first
1928

Lincoln Historical Research Foundation,
Louis A. Warren, Director,
Fort Wayne, Ind.

My dear Mr. Warren:

I thank you for yours of October 24th acknowledging receipt of a former reply to your inquiry.

I regret that I know of no bronze statue of heroic size of Lincoln in or near Hartford. There may be such a one in progress, but not to my knowledge.

The real "statue" of heroic size which we do have is the Emancipation Table on which he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. We also have many different copies and editions of the Emancipation Proclamation, many statuettes of Lincoln of various sizes and materials, and we also have a very large collection of the printed works of Lincoln and of works relating to Lincoln and a large collection of Lincoln pennies or tokens which are a part of our Joseph C. Mitchelson Collection of Coins, Medals, etc. I hope when you have compiled and published your report, or even before, if you have material available, you will send us a copy or statement in order that we may be kept in touch with this movement.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely,

Geol. Godard
State Librarian

GSG LGG

LINCOLN SECRET REVEALED

Old Letters Tell How Methodist Bishop Gave Him Idea of Emancipation Proclamation

1925
PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 13.—Rev. Clarence True Wilson, secretary of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, has revealed here what he termed the first story of how Lincoln reached his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation.

Dr. Wilson's account is based on old letters and journals found in trunks of the late Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The trunks had been stored unopened in Philadelphia for a half a century and Dr. Wilson was recently given access to them.

BISHOP CALLS ON LINCOLN

"The story of how Lincoln reached his decision has been locked up all these years in Bishop Simpson's trunks," Dr. Wilson said at a weekly meeting of Methodist preachers here.

"On the morning in question Bishop Simpson, a close friend of President Lincoln, called at the White House while the President was still at breakfast. He was cordially greeted and the two retired to Lincoln's study. It was there that Bishop Simpson suggested that Lincoln carry out the emancipation idea.

"If the South wins, the slaves still remain in shackles," said Bishop Simpson. "If the North wins, they will remain in shackles, and yet this war is being fought to prevent the extension of slavery."

"But," said Lincoln, "it would not be constitutional."

"It is not constitutional for you to shoot down the citizens of the United States as your armies are doing now," replied Bishop Simpson, who continued to argue with the President that it was a responsibility to God to free the black man.

VICTORY ACHIEVED

"After a time, the Bishop's old journal reveals, the President said: 'I will do this at the earliest moment when God gives us a victory. Let us pray.'"

"Bishop Simpson then tells how the two knelt in prayer and 'prayed around twice.' The emancipation proclamation was issued shortly afterward."

Bishop Simpson, for many years a resident of Philadelphia, died here June 18, 1884. His trunks contain intimate correspondence he had with Secretary of War Stanton, Gen. U. S. Grant and other government leaders during the Civil War. Because of the intimate nature of the letters, members of the family had refrained from opening the trunks until recently.

Jan 16 - 1930

STAR, WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY,

BISHOP'S PRAYER WITH LINCOLN DECLARED EMANCIPATION CAUSE

JANUARY 16, 1930.

Dr. Clarence True Wilson Quotes Old Letters and Journals Owned by the Late Matthew Simpson.

By the Associated Press.

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Lincoln Holds to Argument.

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Induced Lincoln to Free Slaves

Lincoln Early Jan 21

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Bishop Simpson died June 18, 1884.

SAYS BISHOP SIMPSON LINCOLN'S COL HOUSE

Inspired the Emancipation of Slaves, Dr Wilson Finds

Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church was to President Abraham Lincoln what Col House was to President Wilson and Mark Hanna to President McKinley, confidential but unofficial adviser, and it was at the suggestion of the bishop that President Lincoln appointed Edwin M. Stanton Secretary of War and later issued his proclamation emancipating the slaves, said Rev Dr Clarence True Wilson, secretary of the Methodist Church Board of Temperance, last evening at the monthly dinner of the Boston Methodist Social Union, in Ford Hall.

Dr Wilson told of his discoveries in inspecting three trunksful of letters and papers of Bishop Simpson recently, in search of biographical data in regard to the bishop, who died in 1884.

Dr Wilson declared that he found in the collection various letters from President Lincoln, and from Mrs Lincoln to Mrs Simpson, and they, with the bishop's manuscript diary, revealed facts referred to and many others almost as unfamiliar.

Dr Wilson recalled that "Lincoln had never been an abolitionist, but had intended to save the Union if possible by force of arms, without interfering with slavery, which was sanctioned by the Federal Constitution."

The speaker told of a letter sent by Bishop Simpson to the President on Jan 8, 1862, after a series of military defeats of the Federal Army, declaring to the President that "his cause would never be successful as long as military victory for both sides meant the perpetuation of slavery."

The bishop then met the President and after each had prayed twice for divine guidance Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, Dr Wilson asserted.

Gen Grant and Bishop Simpson were related, Dr Wilson stated. Grant's name was Ulysses Simpson Grant, he and the bishop receiving the same Simpson from the same ancestor.

Dr Wilson's recital continued: "When Gen Grant, after he had won several victories in the West, was removed from his command because cer-

tain reports had not been received from him by his superior, Gen Halleck, Grant wrote to Bishop Simpson of his predicament."

The bishop hurried to Washington from Indiana, explained to President Lincoln that Grant's reports had accidentally gone astray and that "a fatal blunder had been made in removing the only General who had won victories for the Union." The President then reinstated Grant, who resumed his victories.

According to Dr Wilson, the bishop recommended the appointment of Stanton, a Democrat, as Secretary of War, because he knew Stanton's capacity for the position, after Lincoln had demonstrated to him that if he appointed any one of the five Republican candidates he was then considering he would make enemies of the followers of each of the other four.

The President made the appointment after the bishop had drawn from him an admission that "many Democrats were fighting for the Union as loyally as Republicans."

Shelved Salmon Chase

Dr Wilson next asserted that the Simpson papers show that Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's first Secretary of the Treasury, alleged to have been very troublesome owing to his ambition to displace Lincoln in the White House, was shelved on the Supreme Court bench by the President by the advice of the bishop, a life-long friend of Chase.

The speaker declared that he found among Bishop Simpson's papers letters from President Andrew Johnson, President and Mrs Hayes, President Garfield, Secretary of War Stanton and Gen Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas.

A letter written by President Lincoln, it was stated, regretting inability to attend a patriotic meeting during the Civil War, read: "Find Bishop Simpson. I'd rather have him speak for me than any other man in the world."

At the close of Dr Wilson's address Bishop William F. Anderson proposed that New England Methodists provide the necessary money, probably from \$2000 to \$3000, to enable Dr Wilson to have a biography of Bishop Simpson prepared from the data now in his possession.

Linwood F. Gifford, president of the union, expressed confidence that the publication will be provided for.

Dr Lewis O. Hartman spoke and Miss Virginia Sawyer sang, with Miss Ruth Haeuber as accompanist. Rev Oliver B. Quick made the invocation and pronounced benediction.

The attendance was about 175.

From A. Corbett.

Boston Daily Globe

Feb. 1930

Men and Things

Today the Seventieth Anniversary of Lincoln's Decision to Issue His Emancipation Proclamation Abolishing Slavery With Its 250 Years of Established Practice On This Continent—Pennsylvania's Proud Record

JUST 70 years ago today, September 22, 1862, falling on Monday, President Lincoln presented to the Cabinet and made public his preliminary proclamation of Emancipation. It was not to be effective until the official promulgation of freedom for the slaves then promised and issued on January 1, 1863, in which latter declaration the President defined the territory which he declared to be under military jurisdiction and in which the proclamation would be effective. But the date has a marker in history as the day when definite announcement of this great purpose was made.

When Lincoln determined in his own mind on this history-making action is not a matter of exact record. He had been contemplating it for months. Apparently he had very definitely determined to take the step some weeks previous, with little or no consultation with others. He had been biding his time.

For months there had been violent agitation on the part of the Abolitionists. The President had been subjected to every conceivable pressure. Greeley had printed his "Appeal of 2,000,000 People" in the New York Tribune and Lincoln had made the historic answer:

"My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery.

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it.

"And if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it.

"And if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do it."

On September 13 a delegation of ministers from Chicago came to the White House and with characteristic zeal urged the President to action. He discussed the questions of emancipation calmly and thoroughly and said:

"I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement, and I can assure you that the subject is in my mind by day and night, more than any other subject. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I shall do."

Lincoln then knew what he would do eventually, although he might not then have known the day he would do it.

Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet, says in his diary that the President first broached the subject of emancipation to him and Secretary Seward on July 13, and Welles makes no further mention of the matter until his notes of the Cabinet meeting on September 22.

John T. Morse, biographer, credits the report that Lincoln wrote the rough draft of the proclamation July 8, while aboard a steamboat bringing him back from a visit to McClellan. Morse says this rough draft was read to the Cabinet at a meeting the latter part of July or the first of August, that it was entirely the President's own work and that only a few verbal alterations were made in it.

The Cabinet seems to have agreed readily on the general proposal, although there was some discussion as to the desirability of issuing the pro-

clamation at that time. For whatever reason, it was held in abeyance.

And then came Antietam. News of that battle reached the President while at the Soldiers' Home. Lincoln is quoted as saying, "Here I finished making the second draft. I came to Washington on Saturday and called the Cabinet together to hear it and it was published on Monday, the 22d of September, 1862."

Secretary Chase says that Lincoln said at the Cabinet meeting, "When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined that as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, I would issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought would be useful. I said nothing to anyone, but I made the promise to myself and to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out and I am going to fulfill that promise."

Welles says that "in the course of the discussion on this paper, which was long, earnest, and on the general principle involved harmonious, he (the President) remarked that he had made a vow, a covenant, that if God gave us victory in the approaching battle, he would consider it an indication of Divine will and that it was his duty to move forward in the cause of emancipation." Welles discusses the matter at length and says that Seward and Chase supported it. In an entry in his diary of October 1st, he says the effect of the proclamation was less exciting than had been anticipated, and again he notes the harmony of the Cabinet on the general principle of the proclamation.

It was a far cry back to August, 1619, when John Rolfe—known to posterity as the husband of Pocahontas—records that a Dutch ship landed "twenty Negars" at Jamestown. But this was not the first introduction of African slavery into the territory now included in the United States. Negro slavery was established among the Spanish and Dutch colonists in Florida and Manhattan. Having failed to obtain a sufficient supply of enforced labor from the aborigines, the Dutch soon after the colonization of Manhattan had recourse to Africa.

The first American-built slave was constructed at Marblehead in 1636, and there is an entry in John Winthrop's diary less than two years later noting her commercial success. For several years the importation of African slaves into Virginia was sparse.

In extenuation of both Virginia and New England in those early days it should be remembered that both colonies were accustomed to the "redemption" system. Chopping and digging, their hewing of wood and their drawing of water, was done by able-bodied persons imported from England, whose services were sold for a term of years until they "redeemed" their liberty by paying off with their enforced labor such debt as was incurred in their immigration. "Redemptioners" included both men and women, and the romantic possibilities of the practice served Mary Johnston to provide the plot for her "best seller" of a generation ago, "To Have and to Hold."

Pennsylvania probably stands alone among the colonies in having a perfectly white shield in the matter of Negro slavery. Rhode Island had an exceptionally bad record. Samuel Hopkins, writing in 1770, enumerated 150 vessels as then engaged in the

African slave trade. White Shield from that colony, and The Honor of wrote, "Rhode Island Pennsylvania has been more deeply interested in the slave trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Seventeen years later Hopkins wrote that by this traffic in human beings Newport had been built up and most of the inhabitants had acquired their wealth and riches.

Pennsylvania early in the 19th Cen-

tury took a stand against the return of fugitive slaves. An illuminating case is that of Prigg v. Pennsylvania, in which the opinion was written by the learned Justice Story. Prigg acting as the agent for Margaret Ashmore, of Maryland, located a runaway female slave in York county, in 1832. He caused her arrest, but the justice of the peace before whom she was brought refused to order that she be returned to her owner. Thereupon Prigg resorted to the strong arm, and took her back by force to Maryland.

Returning to the jurisdiction of the Pennsylvania courts Prigg was promptly arrested, indicted and convicted on a charge of kidnaping. This was an emphatic demonstration of Pennsylvania's official attitude toward the return of fugitive slaves, 20 years before the exciting scenes, with Luretia Mott as the central dramatic figure, which were enacted in Philadelphia after the passage by Congress of the fugitive slave act in connection with the Compromise of 1850.

The Supreme Court declared the Pennsylvania Kidnaping law unconstitutional as far as it was in conflict with the clause of the Federal Constitution, which was designed to "guard against the doctrines and principles prevalent in the non-slaveholding States, by preventing them from intermeddling with, or obstructing, or abolishing the rights of the owners of slaves."

Lincoln did not mince words or depart from the strict truth, when in a speech referring to the Southern people at Peoria, on October 16, 1854, he said: "You have among you a sneaking individual of the class of native tyrants known as the

Lincoln es your necessities and
Denounces as your necessities and
Slave Trade crawls up to buy your slave at a speculating price. If you cannot help it, you sell to him; but if you can help it, you drive him from your door. You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with him; they may rollick freely with the little Negroes, but not with the slave-dealer's children. If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so much as touching him. It is common with you to join hands with the men you meet; but with the slave-dealer you avoid the ceremony—instinctively shrinking from the snakey contact."

The whole history of African slavery in the Western Hemisphere is one of paradoxes. If colonial New England had profited by the vile traffic, the abolition movement in the 50 years preceding the Civil War was a noble atonement. Slavery was introduced through humanitarian motives, chiefly at the instigation of the revered Spanish priest, Bartholomew de las Casas. His heart bled with pity for the dying native races in the West Indies, cruelly abused, brutally maltreated by gold-hungry Spanish adventurers and rapidly nearing extermination. The honored Dominican, praised by all historians, proposed the substitution of Africans, who were stronger of body and capable of even the rigorous labor of delving and digging for gold under the lash of rapacious Spanish masters, whereas the natives were neither physically nor mentally fitted for such exacting work and barbarous discipline. Accordingly, in 1510, the King of Spain ordered the first shipment of 50 African slaves to Hispaniola. This was more than a century before the Dutch cargo mentioned by John Rolfe.

England was not slow in satisfying the demand for "black" labor in the colonies. Sir John Hawkins, the famous navigator who owed his knight-hood to Queen Elizabeth, made his first voyage to the west coast of Africa profitable by carrying away a

slaves. The Merry Monarch, less than two years after the king had brought him from exile to the Stuart throne, led the "Company of Royal Adventurers Trading in Africa," which bound itself to land 3,000 Negro slaves each year in the British West Indies. The Queen Mother, widow of Charles I, and the Duke of York, afterward James II, were among the stockholders.

The cumulative fostering of the slave trade in England resulted by the middle of the 18th century in there being fully 400 ships sailing to Africa from the ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol. In the windows of Liverpool merchants who specialized in outfitting ships could be seen leg shackles, handcuffs, iron collars and chains. At a date nearly a century later, when Commodore M. C. Perry was in command of an American squadron supposed to be employed in suppressing the capture of slaves, he sent home for friendly information a complete list, "received from an authentic source," of "goods suitable for the African trade," such goods being used at the time in bartering with native tribes for the purchase of their prisoners of war.

Lincoln's problem in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation was not only one that arose from the immediate exigency of the Civil War, but had behind it 350 years of commercial development, which can now happily be regarded in retrospect with due horror and repulsion.

1932

LETIN-PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 19

Christian Advocate

FEBRUARY 7, 1935

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Number 6

Lincoln's Way

AT AN interview at the White House in April, 1861, Bishop Simpson boldly told the President that he would have to get rid of slavery before God would let him win the war.

President Lincoln said: "Bishop, I have always stood against the extension of slavery into new territory, but have maintained that the Constitution protects the institution where it now exists. Any interference with the right of property in slaves would be unconstitutional."

Bishop Simpson said: "We are doing many things now that in peace time would be unconstitutional. For instance, we are shooting down American citizens. The Constitution gives them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. When the Constitution is imperiled and a rebellion is on, the first right the Constitution has is self-preservation; and if granting freedom to the slaves would help to preserve the Constitution, I care not whether the act goes over the Constitution, or around the Constitution, or under the Constitution, or through the Constitution. If it will preserve the Constitution, it is constitutional."

The great President said, "Then, bishop, you believe that emancipation, though unconstitutional in peace time, could be justified as a war measure?"

"Precisely," said the bishop, "justified and necessary."

Said Lincoln: "I will do this thing at the earliest practicable moment, and let us get down on our knees and ask the heavenly Father to guide us as to time and place."

In commenting on this event, Simpson said, "We prayed around twice."—From *Matthew Simpson, Patriot, Preacher, Prophet*, by Clarence True Wilson. The Methodist Book Concern.

Other Noteworthy Collections.

HARRY M'NEIL BLAND is probably one of the greatest collectors of Lincolniana in the country. He values very highly the watch which Abraham Lincoln gave to the captain of an Austrian brigade for the daring rescue of the crew of the American vessel Flying Cloud, in 1861. It was the only watch Lincoln presented during his term as President.

Mr. Bland, ordinarily quiet, shy and retiring, becomes fiercely assertive at the mention of Lincoln's name.

Gabriel Wells, who, like Mr. Bland, is connected with a gallery, has in his possession the pen with which Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Emancipation as the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Emil Hurja, vice president of the Democratic Committee in Washington, includes in his private collection of Lincolniana a draft order calling for 50,000 troops on February 1, 1864. The order is signed by Lincoln.



Mayor to Open Show Wednesday.

ALL of these things which point to such vital moments in Lincoln's career are to be part of the exhibition at the Lincoln Hotel, which is being given this week for the benefit of the Madison Square Boys' Club.

Mayor La Guardia opens the show Wednesday. Among those at the official tea will be Mrs. Henry Breckenridge, wife of Lindbergh's attorney; Mrs. Henry Crosby, Mrs. Morley Kennerley, Rear Admiral and Mrs. Reginald Belknap and the Countess di Castagnola.

LINCOLN'S PLEA ON SLAVERY EXHIBITED

By EARL GODWIN

A Lincoln document, almost forgotten by the casual student of the emancipator, is on display today in the hall of the National Archives Building, Ninth and Pennsylvania Avenue. It is a single proclamation among many of the Lincoln papers transferred from the State Department to the Archives Building and was singled out for exhibition by Archivist Connor because of the rare choice of language used by President Lincoln at a time of great stress in the midst of the war.

The proclamation is dated May 19, 1862, declaring null and void the martial law declaration by Major General David Hunter in which the officer had set free the slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina. Lincoln called attention to the Act of Congress, passed a few weeks previously, providing for the reimbursement of slave owners by grants to slave States if they would adopt measures for the gradual abolishment of slavery.

Impressed By Language

In the proclamation on view today, and which will remain exhibited for some time to come, President Lincoln, appealed to the States concerned for the acceptance of this proposal. Officials of the National Archives are impressed with the deeply sympathetic and religious tone of the wording:

"To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue. I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you, a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done, by one effort, in all past time, as, in the providence of God, it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it."

This document is one of the whole collection of State Department Lincolniana, all bound in one large volume, which contains the great emancipation proclamation

with which so many are familiar. Going through the book the student recalls that by proclamation September 22, 1862 Lincoln declared war would be prosecuted to restore the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof. He warned he would proclaim, on January 1, 1863, all slaves free in States then in rebellion. This is known as the preliminary emancipation proclamation and is in the State Department collection now in the National Archives. One hundred days later, January 1, 1863 he issued the emancipation proclamation.

Other proclamations bound in the same volume include the call for 75,000 militia April 15, 1861; three weeks later he called for 42,034 volunteers and ordered the enlistment of 23,000 regulars and the increase of the Navy by 18,000. . . . The "on to Richmond" campaign was of longer duration than the Government anticipated; and the President called for 100,000 militia from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. Other proclamations were issued October 17, 1863 for 300,000 men; this time to serve for three years or the duration of the war. Then, on July 18, 1864 the first proclamation on record in the National Archives ordering compulsory service. It called for half a million men and ordered a draft if the quota was not filled.

A Lincoln Emancipation Pen Is Found

One-Cent Steel Point Used in First Proclamation Stored for 75 Years

By Horace Green

Its box wrapped in tissue paper, which again is contained within several envelopes, the pen with which Abraham Lincoln signed the first Emancipation Proclamation has been discovered, after being stored for three-quarters of a century in a bank vault. This first proclamation, a "trial balloon," freed the slaves in the District of Columbia under date of April 14, 1862, and was kept in Lincoln's pocket for several days in order that two sickly old slaves, then in the district, might first get back to Kentucky with their owner, Governor Wickliff.

The one-cent steel pen—such as might have been used in any red school house of the last generation—bears the name of R. Bainbridge & Co., New York, and is encased in a mahogany box bearing on top in gilt letters the words "The Pen of Liberty." A magnifying glass reveals that the long cedar holder was made by a French firm, Blanzzy, Pouré et

Cie. The evidence is it was given at the time of signing to Ohio's Civil War Governor, later Senator, Benjamin F. Wade, through whom it came by descent to the writer. The writer discovered the box in a dilapidated brown suit case (tied with heavy cords) containing also family letters and worthless contracts.

Unusual circumstances surrounded the signing of this first Emancipation document. As generally known, the final Emancipation Proclamation was signed Sept. 22, 1862, five days after Lee had been driven out of Maryland at the Battle of Antietam.

Previously in April, 1862, Congress had passed a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. This was the bill signed by the recently discovered pen. According to an entry in his diary April 14, 1862, Senator Orville H. Browning, an old Illinois friend and neighbor of Lincoln's, took the bill over to the White House that night. Lincoln signed it reluctantly, saying to Browning that it should have been for gradual or compensated emancipation, which was Lincoln's pet

President Gave Souvenir to Benjamin F. Wade, Then Governor of Ohio

scheme. Lincoln then said he would put the bill in his pocket for a few days.

"Why?" asked Senator Browning.

Lincoln replied that families would suddenly be deprived of cooks, stable boys, etc., and slaves would be deprived of their protectors. Furthermore, Lincoln said, according to Browning's diary, that old Governor Wickliff had two family servants with him who were sickly, and who would not be benefited by freedom, and wanted time to remove them but could not get them out of the city until Wednesday. The governor had come frankly to him and asked for time. He added that this was in the strictest confidence.

For two days Lincoln pocketed the bill until Governor Wickliff's old slaves could get back to Kentucky. Ostensibly an act of kindness, this was in reality a political move to gain favor in Kentucky.

Senator Wade obtained the pen at

(Continued on page 3, column 1)

Wade's diary

4/14/62

BERNARD E. LARSON
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
IRONWOOD, MICHIGAN

September 7, 1938

Lincolnia
Lincoln Life Insurance Company
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Sir:

I am very much interested in knowing the circumstances under which, and the place that, Abe Lincoln wrote his speech on the emancipation. It has been rumored it was written on a boat returning from a visit to one of the armies.

I am a Lincoln student but have never run across this in my reading. Will you kindly give me this information if you have it on file. I would sincerely appreciate it.

I enjoy your publications very much and hope you will continue the same.

BEL:SF

Very truly,



LINCOLN NATIONAL
MAIL DEPARTMENT
Referred to _____
REC'D SEP 21 1938
Answered _____
LIFE INSURANCE CO.

September 22, 1938

Mr. Bernard E. Larson,
Ironwood, Michigan

My dear Mr. Larson:

Apparently your informant with respect to Lincoln's writing a speech on a boat returning from a visit to one of the armies has confused the traditional story of the writing of the Gettysburg Address on the train on the way to Gettysburg. This, of course, has been featured much although there does not seem to be any truth in it. With respect to the writing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the general tradition is that part of it was written in the office of the Western Union Telegraph Company. This story has been widely circulated and goes into some detail about the writing of the famous Emancipation.

I regret I cannot help you further with respect to the authenticity of either one of these traditions.

Very truly yours,

LAW:BS

Director

That First Step Toward Freedom

Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation: The Story of the Emancipation Proclamation, by Frank Donovan (Dodd, Mead, 146 pp. \$4), suggests that our best ideals can be translated into action only through a political process which is usually slow and often sordid. William B. Catton is co-author of "Two Roads to Sumter."

By WILLIAM B. CATTON

MOST Americans develop a nodding acquaintance in school with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Thereafter, unless they directly affect us, we tend to put these documents conveniently out of mind. This is unfortunate but understandable, since as a guide to conduct their message is apt to seem irrelevant, impossible, or downright embarrassing. Yet

they are crucially important. If failure to apply them honestly should become a habit, democracy's essential values would be lost, quite possibly forever. The darkest stains on our record are there because we temporarily gave priority to other values, and on the two occasions when our survival as a cohesive society has been most gravely threatened—a century ago, and again today—the issue, at bottom, was how to apply extensively principles that mean nothing if the rights they confer are not universal.

Sooner or later, examination of these questions must involve Abraham Lincoln, whose unassailable claim to greatness is often for reasons more subtle and complex than those normally invoked. Frank Donovan has provided such an examination in his concise, well-written study of the Emancipation Proclamation. The book includes brief background chapters on the develop-

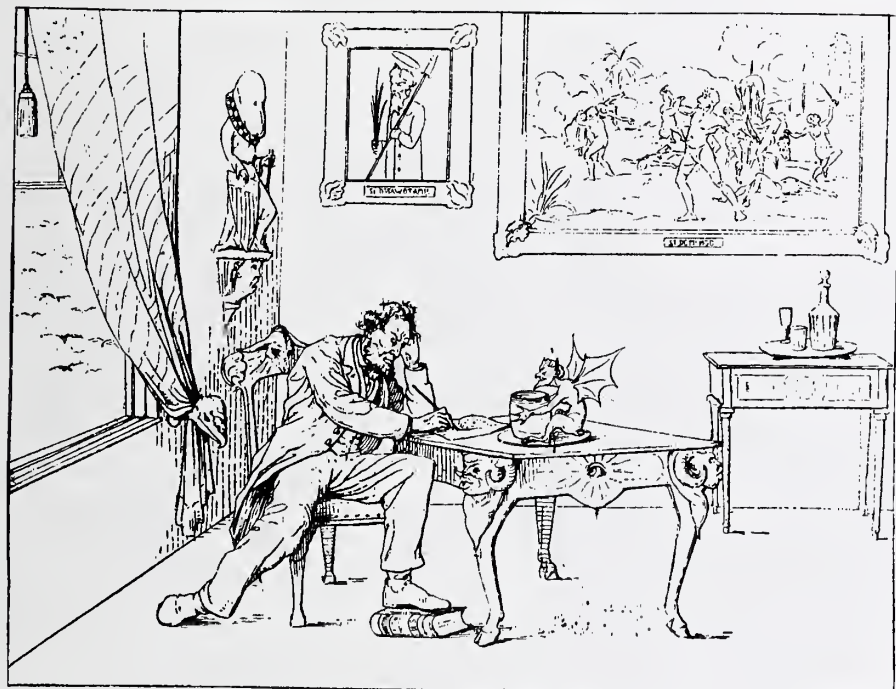
ment of American Negro slavery from colonial times, the controversy over slavery during the early national period, and various causes of the Civil War. The author then probes in more detail Lincoln's complex attitudes toward race and slavery, the steps that led to the drafting and issuing of the famous Proclamation in 1862-63, and the final legalization and completion of the emancipation process by Constitutional amendment in 1865.

Mr. Donovan is at pains to keep the record straight. Lincoln and the Republican Party were initially pledged to contain but not abolish slavery. Except for a small abolitionist minority, Northerners (including Lincoln) viewed the Civil War as a battle for Union rather than freedom. But emancipation sentiment grew as the conflict proceeded; and the war, with an irreversible logic of its own, began to destroy slavery almost by accident. The timing and scope of the Proclamation largely reflected political, military, and diplomatic considerations. In spite of being constantly denounced by abolitionists, Lincoln refused to act until his political sense indicated that the Union war effort would be strengthened rather than weakened by a move against slavery. Then, and then only, did he proclaim January 1, 1863, as the day when "all persons held as slaves within any State . . . in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, henceforward, and forever, free."

Since the Proclamation was deliberately applied only to the yet unconquered Confederacy, it actually freed no slaves at all. Its significance, the author rightly concludes, was as an unmistakable affirmation of intent: "the decisive step which led to the ultimate extinction of human bondage in the United States. For this reason—and not because, of itself, it freed the slaves—it ranks only below the Declaration of Independence as a milestone on the road to freedom."

This is a thoughtful and timely volume. It suggests, for instance, that our noblest ideals can be translated into effective action only through a contradictory political process which is usually slow, often sordid, and consistently less than noble. Lincoln's greatness lies precisely here; his eloquent reaffirmation of America's highest principles was combined with a deft mastery and appreciation of the cumbersome process by which ideals approach reality, and he recognized that ideals and process are allies, uneasy but inseparable. Moreover, emancipation was merely one step along a road that still forks. The choice that confronted Lincoln's generation confronts our own, and Lincoln, as usual, phrased it perfectly: "We can nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth."

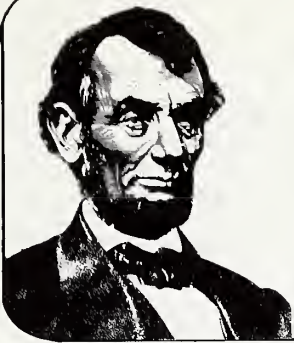
SR/August 1, 1964



Abraham Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation: a Southern view, by A. J. Volck, 1862.

—Bettmann Archive.

SR/August 1, 1964



Lincoln Lore

March, 1973

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Number 1621

THE PRESIDENT AND THE HISTORIAN: LINCOLN AND GEORGE LIVERMORE

Just as the contemporary interest in civil rights has had its effects upon living historians, guiding them to write on once neglected subjects, so an earlier era of interest in civil rights had its effects upon the subject matter of historical research. The Civil War directed the interests of George Livermore (1809-1865), a frail Massachusetts antiquarian and book collector, to the subject of the "Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers." Some of the things that Livermore discovered by careful research in the published writings of the founding fathers and in the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society may well have startled members of that Society present when, on August 14, 1862, he read his paper concerning the racial attitudes of that first generation of Americans. Indeed, some of his discoveries made over a hundred years ago would be news to historical societies today.

Livermore's *Historical Research*, as he called the published version of the paper he read to the Massachusetts Historical Society, is of special interest to Lincoln students because Abraham Lincoln apparently read Livermore's pamphlet—and at a critical time. Charles Sumner, the Republican Senator from Massachusetts, presented Lincoln with a copy of Livermore's *Historical Research* in November of 1862. The pamphlet is thought by some to have influenced Lincoln's decision, made between the issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862 and the official promulgation of the Proclamation on January 1, 1863, to include a paragraph endorsing the use of former slaves as soldiers in the Union Army. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that Lincoln consulted Charles Sumner about the final version of the Proclamation on Christmas Day, 1862. It is also added support by the story that George Livermore had Sumner give Lincoln a gold pen to sign the Proclamation which was returned to Livermore as a keepsake of the momentous historical event. In the editor's

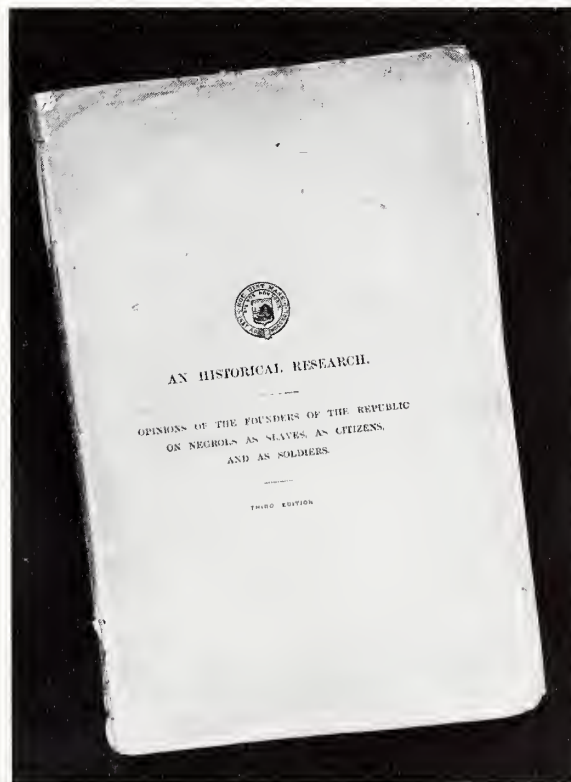
opinion, the story is made even more plausible by the nature of Livermore's pamphlet itself.

Livermore's pamphlet had two parts. The first was concerned with the subject, "Negroes as Slaves and as Citizens," and consisted of lengthy quotations from the writings

of the founding fathers loosely strung together by introductory remarks and brief comments by Livermore. But Livermore was no antiquarian, for he wrote about the past in order to influence the present and future:

In this time of our country's trial, when its Constitution, and even its continued national existence, is in peril, and the people are beginning to be aroused to the magnitude of the work to be done, all other subjects dwindle into comparative insignificance. Loyal men, of every calling in life, are laying aside their chosen and accustomed private pursuits, and devoting themselves, heart and hand, to the common cause. As true patriots, then, we, members of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, should do something more than comply, as good citizens, with all the requirements of the Constitution and the laws: we must study, in the light of history, and by the traditions of those who originally founded and at first administered the Government, the fundamental principles on which it was based, and the paramount objects for which it was established. Having done this, it may not be amiss for us to offer the results of our historical researches to others not having the leisure or the opportunity to investigate for themselves.

Thus, although the pamphlet was laden with long extracts from original documents, it was really a tract for the times. Nor did Livermore hide behind historical objectivity: he said he was trying "to ascertain who have been unfaithful to the 'compromises of the Constitution,' and to the principles upon which the Union was based, and for which the Government was established." In other words,



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Livermore read his paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society on August 14, 1862. He printed it at his own expense for gratuitous distribution as a paper read before the Society. The second edition was published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. The Lincoln Library and Museum's copy is a third edition published for the New England Loyal Publication Society in 1863 by A. Williams and Company. The New England Loyal Publication Society was the Boston counterpart of the Loyal Publication Society located in New York City. The Boston society printed broadsides mostly, rarely publishing pamphlets as the New York society did. However, John Murray Forbes, the wealthy Boston merchant who founded the New England group, was especially interested in the raising of black regiments; perhaps his interest helps explain their publishing Livermore's pamphlet.

Livermore was researching who was to blame for the Civil War.

The first section was therefore a commonplace, if at times artful, attempt to line the founding fathers up on the side of the North. Livermore began by refuting the contentions of the president of the Confederacy with the words of its vice-president, Alexander H. Stephens. Jefferson Davis had claimed that the North was unfaithful to the original compromises of the Constitution. Stephens had justified secession on other grounds:

The prevailing ideas entertained by . . . most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last; and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a government built upon it,—when the "storm came and the wind blew, it fell."

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

Having contradicted the Confederate president through the words of the Confederate vice-president, Livermore went on in the first section to document Stephens's assumption that the ideals of the Confederacy represented a radical break with the opinions of the founding fathers.

What followed was a fairly conventional documentation of the case for the founding fathers' having thought slavery a moral evil that should be put on the road to ultimate extinction as soon as possible. Such cases always relied heavily upon emphasizing the importance of the Declaration of Independence, which Livermore termed "The primal American Magna Charta," and attempting to explain the Constitution away. The latter argument depended on emphasizing that, as Livermore construed the preamble, "It was established for the purpose of securing liberty . . ." It stressed also that the document did "not permit the word 'slave' anywhere to tarnish its text."

The argument relied heavily as well on the opinions that some of the men present at the constitutional convention expressed outside the document. Livermore could quote Northerners and Southerners alike on this question. Thus Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend as early as 1773:

I have since had the satisfaction to learn that a disposition to abolish slavery prevails in North America; that many of the Pennsylvanians have set their slaves at liberty; and that even the Virginia Assembly have petitioned the king for permission to make a law for preventing the importation of more into that Colony. This request, however, will probably not be granted, as their former laws of that kind have always been repealed, and as the interests of a few merchants here has more weight with Government than that of thousands at a distance.

When he quoted George Washington, Livermore not only rested his case on the father of his country but on a prominent Virginian and slaveholder. Despite his economic stake in the institution, Washington thought that slavery should and would soon be abolished:

I hope it will not be conceived from these observations that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see some plan adopted for the abolition of it: but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which this can be accomplished, and that is by

legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting. [Washington to Robert Morris, April 12, 1786.]

The present prices of lands in Pennsylvania are higher than they are in Maryland and Virginia, although they are not of superior quality; [among other reasons] because there are laws here for the gradual [sic] abolition of slavery, which neither of the two States above mentioned have at present, but which nothing is more certain than they must have, and at a period not remote. [Washington to Sir John Sinclair, December 11, 1796.]

To Washington and Franklin, Livermore added John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, Christopher Gadsden, Henry Laurens, and others; yet one stubborn fact remained: "But still, in three separate clauses, the Constitution recognizes the existence of slavery . . ." When talking about the Constitution, Livermore had ultimately to rely on things extra-constitutional, like "spirit":

One thing is certain, that . . . the common sentiment, in the Convention and throughout the country, was, that the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, fairly interpreted and faithfully applied, afforded a full guaranty of universal freedom throughout the Union at no distant day. The purpose of the Constitution was put into the preamble in no equivocal language, and for no doubtful purpose. It was "TO SECURE LIBERTY," and not to protect slavery . . .

I say that the above was a conventional argument, for it could be found in many ante-bellum anti-slavery speeches. In fact, one can find Abraham Lincoln using a very similar argument at the Cooper Institute in 1860. This, as much as anything else, makes the case for Livermore's influence on Lincoln convincing: Livermore's was just the sort of argument that Lincoln himself might have used.

In the Cooper Institute address, Lincoln attempted to turn the tables on Stephen Douglas, who always professed to abide by the compromises of the Constitution. Lincoln said he fully endorsed Douglas's assertion that, "Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now." He went on to argue that, contrary to Douglas's belief, this dictated federal control of slavery in the territories. First he showed that twenty-three of the thirty-nine men who signed the Constitution were on record as having supported legislation like the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, in which Congress interfered with slavery in the territories. He argued, just as Livermore had by quoting Alexander Stephens, that "We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by 'our fathers who framed the Government under which we live;' while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon submitting something new." He pointed out "that neither the word 'slave' nor 'slavery' is to be found in the Constitution."

It was polemical ground that Lincoln had trod before, most notably in his speech at Peoria in 1854. There he had stressed that "the sheet anchor of American republicanism" was the Declaration of Independence and the statement that "the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed." He had interpreted the Constitution this way:

I particularly object to the NEW position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic.

* * *

I object to it because the fathers of the republic eschewed, and rejected it. The argument of "Necessity" was the only argument they ever admitted in favor of slavery; and so far, and so far only as it carried them, did they ever go. They found the institution existing among us, which they could not help; and they cast blame upon the British King for having permitted its introduction. BEFORE the constitution, they prohibited its introduction into the north-western Territory—the only country we owned, then free from it. AT the framing and adoption of the constitution, they forebore to so much as mention the word "slave" or "slavery" in the whole instrument. In the provision for the recovery of fugitives, the slave is spoken of as a "PERSON HELD TO SERVICE OR LABOR." In that prohibiting the abolition of the African slave trade for twenty years, that trade is spoken of as "The migra-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This commemorative broadside published by F. G. Renesch of Chicago in 1919 invoked the memory of the Emancipation Proclamation and linked it to the achievements of the American Negro since Lincoln's time. Of particular interest, of course, is the reference to black soldiers in World War I. The two faces flanking Lincoln are those of officers of the 370th United States Infantry Regiment (formerly the Eighth Illinois), the only regiment in the United States Army with black officers from the highest to lowest ranks called into service in World War I. Lieutenant Colonel Dorman was the highest ranking Negro in the American Expeditionary Forces. Frederick Douglass was a contemporary of Lincoln's and a black abolitionist. Paul Dunbar (1872-1906) was a black poet and novelist who won wide critical acclaim before World War I. His father, an escaped slave, enlisted in the 55th Massachusetts Infantry, a black regiment that served in the Civil War. Appropriately for the spirit of Lincoln's thought, he is pictured holding a document with words from the Declaration of Independence written on it.

tion or importation of such persons as any of the States NOW EXISTING, shall think proper to admit," &c. These are the only provisions alluding to slavery. Thus, the thing is hid away, in the constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or a cancer, which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death; with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at the end of a given time. [Roy Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), II, 274.]

Reading Livermore's pamphlet is almost like reading the notes for a Lincoln speech.

Though the argument was scholarly and the circumstances of its original presentation far removed from the seat of power in Washington, Livermore's *Historical Research* was not an historical apology for past governmental measures—however much it may sound like one. It was, on the contrary, a carefully structured argument for change, some would have said for revolutionary change. When Livermore first read his paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society, it was by no means clear that the Lincoln administration would take any measures at all to affect the institution of slavery.

It was even less clear at the time whether free blacks would be allowed to serve in the armed services of the United States. As recently as August 4, 1862, Lincoln had told a delegation from Indiana offering two regiments of black soldiers for the Northern armies that he was not ready to enlist blacks, because such action "would turn

50,000 bayonets from the loyal Border States against us that were for us." By January 1, 1863, though, Lincoln was ready; he tacked on to the official Emancipation Proclamation issued that day this declaration: "And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in paid service." In between, Lincoln had apparently read Livermore's pamphlet.

As Benjamin Quarles describes it in *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), Charles Sumner sent Livermore's pamphlet to Lincoln in November. Sumner wrote another correspondent that the pamphlet had interested Lincoln. On December 24, 1862, Lincoln apparently told Sumner that he had mislaid Livermore's pamphlet, and Sumner gave him his own copy on Christmas Day. At the time, Lincoln was working with Sumner on the wording of the official proclamation. Moreover, Brown University owns a copy of Livermore's *Historical Research*, inscribed by the author to the President.

The second part of Livermore's pamphlet dealt with the subject of "Negroes as Soldiers." The approach to this subject was the same as that taken in the first part of the pamphlet, but the territory was not nearly so familiar. In fact, Livermore was probably doing pioneer research in this field:

A question of much importance is presented to our

National Government at this time respecting the employment of negroes as soldiers. Those on whom devolves the responsibility of suppressing this monstrous Rebellion, must ultimately, and at no distant day, decide the matter. In their decision, they will undoubtedly be influenced by a regard to the usage and experience, in this respect, of those who directed our military affairs in the war of Independence, as well as by a consideration of the probable effect of their action on our loyal soldiers, and on the armed traitors who are arrayed against them.

It is not strange that the President, on whom, more than on all others, rests the responsibility of taking the final step in this direction, should pause a while to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to allow public opinion to shape itself more distinctly, that his decision, when made, shall have from the Nation a cordial and general support.

Thus did Livermore rather gingerly approach the problem, duly noting Lincoln's stated objections, but addressing himself to another argument in a form that he perhaps knew Lincoln, who professed to "love the sentiments of those old-time men," would find compelling.

As in the first part, Livermore had to sidestep some official policies and legal enactments, and he even found "an historic parallel" in this: "It may be well to observe, that what has caused so much complaint in the management of the present civil war—the apparently vacillating action and unsettled policy of the administration and the army with regard to the use of negroes as soldiers—is not without a precedent . . . in the annals of the Revolutionary War." Negroes were officially barred from the Continental army by this resolution early in the conflict:

The officers are to be careful not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal and alike indifferent. The rights of mankind and the freedom of America will have numbers sufficient to support them, without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those who wish to put shackles upon freemen fill their ranks with such miscreants, and place their confidence in them. Neither negroes, boys unable to bear arms, nor old men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign, are to be enlisted.

George Washington came to the black soldiers'—and indirectly to Livermore's—rescue by writing to the President of Congress on December 31, 1775:

It has been represented to me, that the free negroes who have served in this army are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended that they may seek employ in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. If this is disapproved of by Congress, I will put a stop to it.

A meeting of the general officers of the Continental army also resolved to exclude blacks from enlistment, but in regard to free Negroes this was ignored, apparently. Congress decided in Washington's favor on January 16, 1776: "That the free negroes, who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge, may be re-enlisted therein, but no others."

More important, various colonies pursued different policies in regard to the use of blacks as soldiers. Some rewarded slaves who enlisted with freedom. In Rhode Island, for example, the General Assembly in February, 1778,

Voted and Resolved, That every able-bodied negro, mulatto, or Indian man slave, in this State, may enlist into either of the said two battalions to serve during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain: that every slave so enlisting shall be entitled to and receive all the bounties, wages, and encouragements allowed by the Continental Congress to any soldier enlisting into their service.

It is further Voted and Resolved, That every slave so enlisting shall, upon his passing muster before Col. Christopher Greene, be immediately discharged from the service of his master or mistress, and be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been incumbered with

any kind of servitude or slavery. And in case such slave shall, by sickness or otherwise, be rendered unable to maintain himself, he shall not be chargeable to his master or mistress, but shall be supported at the expense of the State.

Livermore also documented exciting instances of black patriots in the cause of American independence, from the death of Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre to the defense of Colonel Greene by black soldiers at Points Bridge, New York in May of 1781.

Everything, of course, was meant as a lesson for the present. "Two or three incidents in the earliest conflicts with the British troops," wrote Livermore, "will show how little prejudice there was against negroes at the commencement of the war, and how ready the citizens generally then were, not only to secure their services as fellow-soldiers, but to honor them for their patriotism and valor." He quoted the historian George Bancroft's assessment of the place of the blacks in the Revolutionary experience:

Nor should history forget to record, that as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band [at Bunker Hill], the free negroes of the Colony had their representatives. For the right of the free negroes to bear arms in the public defense was, at that day, as little disputed in New England as their other rights. They took their place, not in a separate corps, but in their ranks with the white man; and their names may be read on the pension-rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the Revolution.

He also included some digs at the South:

Although slavery existed throughout the country, it is a significant fact, that the principal opposition to negro soldiers came from the States where there was the least hearty and efficient support of the principles of Republican Government, and the least ability or disposition to furnish an equal or fair quota of white soldiers.

South Carolina and Georgia contained so many Tories, at one time, that it was supposed the British officers, who elsewhere would, by proclamation, free all negroes joining the Royal Army, might hesitate to meddle with them in these Colonies, lest "the king's friends" should suffer thereby.

Livermore's historical brief perhaps fell a bit short of its mark. In the Civil War Negroes served in black units and most often with white commissioned officers. Black soldiers at first received ten dollars a month, three dollars of which could be deducted for clothing; the white soldier received thirteen dollars a month plus clothing. Eventually, however, Congress equalized the pay of black and white soldiers.

Probably about 180,000 Negroes served as soldiers (officially called "United States Colored Troops") in the Civil War. They were used for scouting in cases where they knew the Southern terrain well and for spying where they could pass as slaves. At first they tended to be assigned to a great deal of garrison duty. Nonetheless, black soldiers saw major action as early as May 27, 1863, at Port Hudson, Louisiana. They carried out a famous assault at Fort Wagner in South Carolina on July 18, 1863, and fought at Petersburg. In all, black soldiers participated in 250 actions in the Civil War. More than 35,000 Negroes died of disease or hostile action during the war. Although most black troops served under white officers, about one hundred Negroes became commissioned officers during the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln never regretted his decision to endorse the use of black soldiers in the Union forces, a use which he termed "very important, if not indispensable," to the Union cause. After about one year's trial of the new soldiers, Lincoln could say, "So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any."

It is always treacherous ground to prove that a book influenced a man; it is hard to prove even that someone read a book. Still, we do know at least that the argument was the sort that might have appealed to Lincoln. It was the sort he might have used himself had he had to prepare a long speech justifying the clause in the Emancipation Proclamation endorsing the use of blacks as soldiers in the Union armies.

NUCLEAR ARMS
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WHAT AMERICANS SHOULD KNOW (AND DON'T)

DO YOU KNOW ME?

I Wrote . . .

- a. The Bill of Rights
- b. The Emancipation Proclamation
- c. The Missouri Compromise
- d. Uncle Tom's Cabin

*The New York Times***Opinionator**

APRIL 16, 2012, 12:38 PM

Freedom Comes to Washington

By KATE MASUR

Disunion follows the Civil War as it unfolded.

Tags:

Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, The Civil War, the senate, washington

President Abraham Lincoln signed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act into law on April 16, 1862, a step heralded by abolitionists across the country. Never before had Congress passed a measure designed to destroy slavery in a place where it was already entrenched. As one newspaper put it: "The actual interest at stake was not extensive — a citadel never occupies a large proportion of the territory it represents — but the principle involved in the question was vital." The capital's liberation was, Frederick Douglass wrote, "a priceless and an unspeakable blessing" for those it freed and "the first great step towards that righteousness which exalts a nation."

Groundbreaking as it was, the act contained some provisions that look peculiar in light of later developments. The law provided for compensation to slave owners who remained loyal to the Union, and it suggested that emancipated slaves might benefit from leaving the United States entirely. It appropriated funds for these purposes: \$1 million to distribute among loyal slave owners and \$100,000 to support freedpeople who wanted to emigrate.

Such provisions were entirely absent from the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by Lincoln just eight and a half months later, and from the 13th Amendment, which finally made slavery illegal everywhere when it was ratified in December 1865. What changed? A look at how the District of Columbia Emancipation Act took shape in the Senate reveals the complexity of the wartime emancipation debate.

Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts first introduced legislation to abolish slavery in the capital in mid-December 1861, amid a national scandal about the incarceration of fugitive slaves in the Washington jail. Wilson and other Republican senators believed the Constitution gave Congress virtually unlimited power to legislate for the District of Columbia and that Congress was therefore fully within its rights to abolish slavery there, even if it could not touch slavery in the states. Indeed, for this reason, abolitionists had been attacking slavery in the

Library of Congress
Senator Henry Wilson

capital for decades, arguing that it was an embarrassment and an insult to a nation supposedly devoted to human dignity and equality.

Even among those who favored ending slavery in the capital, however, there was considerable disagreement about how to do it. Lincoln had weighed in on the matter several times before becoming president. As a congressman in 1849, he had drafted legislation for emancipation in the District of Columbia that would be gradual, voluntary and compensated. Adults would remain enslaved, but beginning in 1850 all children born to enslaved mothers would be free and subject to apprenticeship to their owners. Slave owners would be compensated at market value for those liberated. And the gradual emancipation law would only go into effect if the voters of the District of Columbia approved it. Lincoln believed Congress had the power to enact abolition in the capital without voters' consent, he reiterated in his debates with Stephen Douglas, but he did not think it desirable to do so.

Congress never debated Lincoln's emancipation bill, but its parameters were well known in 1862 as the debate over Wilson's bill got under way. Among the three facets of Lincoln's proposal, the new emancipation bill picked up only one: compensation. The bill mandated a presidentially appointed three-man commission to hear slaveowners' claims for compensation, judge their loyalty to the Union, and assess the value of each slave. Some of Wilson's Republican colleagues complained about using federal funds to pay for slaves; Senator Samuel Pomeroy of Kansas even proposed compensating the slaves themselves for unpaid labor.

But Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts found a way forward, pitching the measure not as compensation but as ransom. "From time immemorial every Government has undertaken to ransom its subjects from captivity," he said. Just as the federal government had ransomed Americans held in slavery on the North African coast in the late 18th century, so too would it pay for the release of the slaves of the capital.

In lengthy speeches in late March and early April, senators marshaled their best arguments for and against the emancipation bill, making recourse to examples from world history and precedents from the founding fathers and the Supreme Court. Legislators from the loyal border states and nascent West Virginia adamantly opposed the measure. They had no love for slavery, most of them said, but they felt the measure was divisive, damaging to the tenuous loyalist movements in their states and especially threatening to the economic and social order of nearby Maryland.

Senator Garrett Davis of Kentucky insisted that it was unconstitutional for Congress to abolish slavery in the capital. Focused on the Fifth Amendment – which prohibited the government from taking "private property . . . for public use, without just compensation" – Davis argued that the government could purchase slaves from their owners, but it could not turn a piece of property into a free person. Even if it could, he added, the bill did not

provide for “just compensation” because it limited the amount that owners could be compensated for each slave.

No one else in the Senate was willing to go to such lengths to defend property in human beings, and no one seemed to agree with Davis that Congress had no authority to abolish slavery in the capital. Democrats and moderate Republicans alike, however, cited Lincoln’s earlier proposals – and his current bid to persuade the border slave states to find their own way toward emancipation – as they insisted that the emancipation bill should provide for gradual emancipation and for the consent of local voters. Still, a solid core of Republicans repeatedly voted down such suggestions. Pomeroy audaciously suggested that if local consent was necessary, Congress should seek it from all district residents over age 21, not just from the white men who currently composed the electorate. That idea got nowhere, but neither did border state senators’ proposals to seek voters’ approval.

The only substantive amendment to Wilson’s bill concerned “colonization,” or the proposal that the government should help African Americans leave the United States once freed. Davis had initially introduced the issue, arguing that all persons liberated by the act be required to emigrate. But Senator James Doolittle of Wisconsin offered an alternative, that colonization be voluntary, and pressed his Republican colleagues to see the wisdom of the idea. Doolittle rested his argument on no less a figure than Thomas Jefferson. The author of the Declaration of Independence, he pointed out, had believed that blacks and whites were destined to live separately; that people of African descent would prosper in the tropics, leaving the northern climes for those of European origin.

Doolittle’s proposal to appropriate \$100,000 for voluntary colonization received little support at first, but as the debate wore on and Republican newspapers expressed concern that the bill was too radical, several senators came around. Finally, on April 3, the Senate approved Doolittle’s colonization provision and then went on to pass the bill itself.

Colonization had not been part of Lincoln’s 1849 proposal, but he had often voiced support for the idea. Lincoln believed all people were entitled to certain fundamental rights. At the same time, like many Americans of his era, he believed that the “races” were separate and distinct groups, and he doubted whether different races could live peacefully together as equals, in the same nation.

The colonization measure in the District of Columbia Emancipation Act was no anomaly. That summer Congress appropriated an additional \$500,000 for the colonization of African Americans freed during the war, and Lincoln urged a delegation of black men from Washington to help the government create a black colony on the Central American isthmus, where African Americans would work in the coal industry and enjoy equal rights amid a racially mixed population. Lincoln appointed Pomeroy to oversee the project, but diplomatic obstacles

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proved insurmountable. Not a single government-sponsored ship ever set sail for that region.

The District of Columbia Emancipation Act (together with a supplemental act passed three months later) freed about 3,100 people held in bondage in the capital. Congress abolished slavery in the federal territories that summer, but in the main, it was the vicissitudes of war that would drive emancipation in the coming months. Congress and the president had far more latitude when they acted in the name of military necessity; besides, there were only so many places where the federal government enjoyed virtually unchallenged jurisdiction over slavery.

So it was that Congress passed legislation instructing army officers not to send fugitives back into slavery and, later, declared that all fugitives coming into Union lines were free. So it was, also, that Lincoln proclaimed emancipation in his capacity as commander in chief of the armed forces, leaving questions of gradualism, compensation and consent behind.

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Sources: Congressional Globe; Leonard P. Curry, "Blueprint for Modern America"; Michael Burlingame, "Abraham Lincoln: A Life," vol. 1; Kate Masur, "An Example for All the Land." The slaveholders' petitions for compensation have been preserved in the National Archives and are now being made available digitally through the Civil War Washington Web site.

Kate Masur is a professor of history at Northwestern and the author of "An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle over Equality in Washington, D.C."



The Man Behind Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation

"Abundant evidence exists to show that Bishop Matthew Simpson was the man who convinced President Lincoln that he could issue the Emancipation Proclamation without violating the Constitution or the pledges he had given in his first inaugural," says Clarence True Wilson, writing in Current History Magazine of the dis-

covery of letters and papers belonging to Bishop Matthew Simpson, one of the ardent pro-Union Methodist ministers at the time of the Civil War.

"Simpson went in company with the Rev. John Lanahan to the White House on April 8, 1861, when, after the Cabinet meeting of that week, he boldly told the President that he would have to get rid of slavery before God would ever let him win the war. Lincoln from his youth up hated slavery with all the strength of his moral nature, but he believed that neither he nor the government nor the states had the power to interfere with it. It was here when the Constitution was formed and was, therefore, embedded in it.

"But Simpson, after the President and Cabinet had given assurances that they had no power or intention to interfere with slavery, convinced the President that he would never win the war without the freedom of the slaves; that the Constitution was not the question; when the Constitution was up off its seat fighting for its life, self-preservation was the only law. Lincoln in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas admitted the constitutionality of slavery and that the government could not constitutionally interfere with the institution; but he emancipated the slaves.

"Somebody must have shown him. The man who brought him to that decision was the power behind the throne."

Forever Free

150 years ago, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation decreed an end to slavery in Confederate-held territory

On July 20, 1862, John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary, predicted in a letter that the president "will not conserve slavery much longer." Two days later, Lincoln, wearing his familiar dark frock coat and speaking in measured tones, convened his cabinet in his cramped White House office, upstairs in the East Wing. He had, he said, "dwell much and long on the subject" of slavery. Lincoln then read aloud a 325-word first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, intended to free slaves in Confederate areas not under United States authority.

Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, stated that he would give the measure his "cordial support." Secretary of State William Henry Seward, however, advised delay until a "more auspicious period" when demonstrable momentum on the battlefield had been achieved by the Union.

Lincoln concurred, awaiting a pro-

by Louis P. Masur

pitious moment to announce his decision and continuing to revise the document. At noon on Monday, September 22, Lincoln again gathered the cabinet at the White House. Union troops had stopped the Confederate Army advance into Maryland at the Battle of Antietam on September 17. The president saw that he now operated from a position of greater strength. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles later observed that Lincoln "remarked that he had made a vow, a covenant, that if God gave us the victory . . . it was his duty to move forward in the cause of emancipation."

The meeting soon adjourned, and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was issued that day. "It is my last trump card, Judge," he told his supporter Edwards Pierrepont, a New York attorney and jurist. "If that don't do, we must give up."

One hundred-fifty years later, three numinous artifacts associated with the epochal event have been photographed together for the first time. An inkwell—according to the claims of a Union officer, Maj. Thomas T. Eckert, used by Lincoln to work on “an order giving freedom to the slaves of the South” as the president sat awaiting news in the telegraph room of the War Department—is in the collections of the Smith-

sonian National Museum of American History. The first draft of the Proclamation resides at the Library of Congress. And the pen with which Lincoln signed the final document belongs to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Yet even when Lincoln acted decisively on September 22, he announced that he would sign the act only 100 days hence, affording additional time for the Northern public to prepare for his shift in policy. The *New York Times* opined that "There has been no more far reaching

document ever issued since the foundation of this government." The *Illinois State Register* in Springfield, Lincoln's hometown, warned darkly of "the setting aside of our national Constitution, and, in all human probability, the permanent disruption of the republic."

One of the weightiest questions was whether significant numbers of Union soldiers would refuse to fight in a war whose purpose was now not only to preserve the Union but also to end slavery. "How Will the Army Like the

Proclamation?" trumpeted a headline in the *New York Tribune*. Yet the Army would stand firm.

During that 100-day interlude, Lincoln's own thinking evolved. He made alterations in the document that included striking out language advocating colonization of former slaves to Africa or Central America. He opened the ranks of the Army to blacks, who until then had served only in the Navy. Lincoln also added a line that reflected his deepest convictions. The Procla-

ON VIEW NOW: Inkwell used by Lincoln, in the National Museum of African American History and Culture/National Museum of American History show, "Changing America"; the Proclamation draft at the Library of Congress's "The Civil War in America"; and Lincoln's pen at the Massachusetts Historical Society's "Forever Free."

mation, he said, was "sincerely believed to be an act of justice."

The edict, says NMAH curator Harry Rubenstein, "transforms the nation. Lincoln recognized it and everybody at the moment recognized it. We were a slave society, whether you were in the North or the South. Following this, there was no going back."

When the moment arrived for signing the Proclamation—on January 1, 1863—Lincoln's schedule had already been crowded. His New Year's reception had begun at 11 a.m. For three hours, the president greeted officers, diplomats, politicians and the public. Only then did he return to his study. But as he reached for his steel pen, his hand trembled. Almost imperceptibly, Lincoln hesitated. "Three hours of hand-shaking is not calculated to improve a man's chirography," he said later that evening. He certainly did not want anyone to think that his signature might appear tremulous because he harbored uncertainty about his action. Lincoln calmed himself, signed his name with a steady hand, looked up, and said, "That will do." Slaves in Confederate areas not under Union military control were decreed to be "forever free."

Ultimately, it was Lincoln who declared his own verdict on his legacy when he affixed his signature that afternoon in 1863. "I never in my life felt more certain that I was doing right," he said, "than I do in signing this paper. If my name goes into history, it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it."

Drawn from *Lincoln's Hundred Days*, by Louis P. Masur. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press © 2012 Louis P. Masur

In pursuance of the next article of the act of Congress entitled "An act to suppress insurrection in the several States and within the prize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes" approved July 13th, 1862, and also that entitled "An act to establish a military district of the United States" of July 13th, 1862, I have directed the several military districts of the United States, to be duly provided with arms and all persons within the Confederacy, or any state within to contribute to the said insurrection, continuing or attempting to maintain rebellion, or any rebellion against the government of the United States, and to detain as their property all persons in the United States, of whom they suspect, or are informed of, of being connected with the insurrection, and persons, who were and have been active in the rebellion.

is new dependency or destruction; and that
for the object of the law, or its being made
for prevention. And as it is one means
of military means for affecting the object
of Commerce, in the case of military
and Navy of the United States, do order and
class these on the first day of January next
year on our law on internal right hand
and, except this, all persons held or committed
in any State or State, in the Constitution
at authority of the United States, shall not
thus be practically recognized, submitted to,
and maintained, shall they transportation
forward, be free.

[illegible]

The Man Behind Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation

"Abundant evidence exists to show that Bishop Matthew Simpson was the man who convinced President Lincoln that he could issue the Emancipation Proclamation without violating the Constitution or the pledges he had given in his first inaugural," says Clarence True Wilson, writing in Current History Magazine of the dis-

covery of letters and papers belonging to Bishop Matthew Simpson, one of the ardent pro-Union Methodist ministers at the time of the Civil War.

"Simpson went in company with the Rev. John Lanahan to the White House on April 8, 1861, when, after the Cabinet meeting of that week, he boldly told the President that he would have to get rid of slavery before God would ever let him win the war. Lincoln from his youth up hated slavery with all the strength of his moral nature, but he believed that neither he nor the government nor the states had the power to interfere with it. It was here when the Constitution was formed and was, therefore, embedded in it.

"But Simpson, after the President and Cabinet had given assurances that they had no power or intention to interfere with slavery, convinced the President that he would never win the war without the freedom of the slaves; that the Constitution was not the question; when the Constitution was up off its seat fighting for its life, self-preservation was the only law. Lincoln in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas admitted the constitutionality of slavery and that the government could not constitutionally interfere with the institution; but he emancipated the slaves.

"Somebody must have shown him. The man who brought him to that decision was the 'power behind the throne.'"

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